THE

APPENDIX

TO THE

CRITICAL REVIEW.

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Art. I.—*Œuvres de Louis XIV.*

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PRINCES are commonly viewed from so great a distance that it can cause little surprize to find historians forming false judgments of their actions and characters, and that in the pictures which are given of them, we are often amused by the imagination of the painter, instead of viewing lineaments taken from nature and truth. We may hope to come nearer to reality, if it should have happened that the pen of the monarch has been exercised upon his own government, and that we can be made to hear from himself the motives, springs, and consequences of actions, in which he has been a principal actor. If he possessed the talents requisite for such an undertaking (and it requires not those of a very superior order) it would be a task equally agreeable and instructive. To retrace his own steps in the middle of his career, to measure the space passed over, and the obstacles surmounted, to confirm by the evidence of facts, the good opinion he has conceived of himself, these are pleasures which have nothing in them ignoble or irrational; and the habitual indulgence of a generous pride may destroy the relish for lower and more ruinous pleasures. The pride of a prince is the least dangerous of all his flatterers: it would rather serve as an antidote to the corrupting influence with which he is on all sides surrounded. The meditation on what has passed, the selection of the motives, and the actions which excite the delightful sentiment of self-applause, cannot but awake likewise the remembrance of errors and of faults; frequent examination leads to the most useful of all knowledge, that of self; in the conduct of the enquirer are found examples

to avoid as well as to follow: and the lessons come home with a force and vivacity which foreign examples can never impress. Above all, what is of the greatest moment to the reader, from such a writer we may receive as truths, details or opinions which from others would amount to no more than conjectures and probabilities. His own character, the predominant passion which influenced his conduct, will be brought to light, as well as the extent of his capacity, the lights and the shades of his character. We are admitted to converse with the very man, towards whom, when pursuing the thread of his history, our curiosity is principally directed. If France is the country which has produced the first examples of public men, who have sat down to recount to the world the circumstances of the great affairs in which they were the chief agents,—such were Lionne, Brienne, Pompone, and Torcilene, the most celebrated, if not the greatest of her kings, Louis XIV. is the first of his order, who has done the same thing with regard to some of the events of his reign, influenced by the respectable motive of instructing his only son, the son destined, as he thought, to be the successor to his throne.

Nothing is more just than the suspicion with which writings of this kind are viewed; forgeries decorated with high sounding names, being one of the most common impositions upon the public credulity. Therefore before receiving them as the genuine productions of the personage whose name they bear, the public have a right to be fully satisfied with regard to their authenticity. On this head we apprehend there is in the present instance little room for scruple. The fact of this monarch having committed many of his thoughts to writing has been long known. Voltaire in his History of the Age of Louis XIV. has inserted some of his writings, which had been imparted to him by the Maréchal de Noailles. The Abbé Millot, in his memoirs of the same Marechal, has done the same by some others, and in his *Memoires politiques et militaires pour servir à l'Histoire de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV.*, has given a distinct account of the manuscripts in which they are contained. A fragment of these writings likewise found its way into a little volume in 12mo, which was printed at Amsterdam in 1767; but it is in a state not merely defective, but appears to have suffered much from wilful and fraudulent corruption.

Of the manuscripts from which these writings were taken some were deposited in the *ci-devant* Bibliothéque du Roi, by the Maréchal de Noailles in 1749, with a certificate under his hand of his having received them from the hands of the monarch himself in the year 1714. This portion of the ma-

nuscript is in the hand writing of Louis himself, and contains 1st. Reflections on the business of a king ; 2dly. Instructions to Philip V., on his going to Spain ; 3dly, A project of an harangue of Louis XIV. to demand the asssistance of his subjects ; 4thly, *Agenda* or summary notes, containing short notices of different projects or facts relating to the years 1666 and 1670. These papers have for the most part, been for a long time in the possession of the public.

The originals of the other writings are not in the handwriting of Louis. They were called by himself Instructions for the Dauphin ; but in this collection they have received the title of Historical and Political Memoirs, as their object is to relate the principal measures of government during the first years of his reign. These years begin with 1661, for though Louis ascended the throne in 1643, he took hardly any concern at all in the affairs of government, during the life of Mazarine, which terminated early in the former year. Two parts of these memoirs are deposited in the present Imperial library. Some parts of the memoirs regarding the years 1661 and 1662 are wanting in these manuscripts. This hiatus is supplied by a copy given to General Grimoard, by Louis XVI and by him communicated to the editors. The general received it from that unfortunate monarch, with instructions to employ it on a work designed for the education of his own children, which the king himself wished to superintend. Another copy similar to General Grimoard's is also in the Imperial library, certified to have been deposited by the Maréchal de Noailles in 1758. As these papers are not in the hand writing of the king, on this account probably, the maréchal, neglected the delivery of them at an earlier period. The hand writing of these manuscripts is by M. Pelisson, the same who in the dungeons of the Bastille had composed in behalf of the superintendant of finances Fouquet, the celebrated Factums, in which were displayed beauties of style and a force of oratory, which had been equalled only in the writings of Pascal. Pelisson having been first clerk in the office of Fouquet, partook of the disgrace and imprisonment of that minister in 1664. But in 1665 he obtained his liberty with a pension, and began to be employed about the person of the king, and it is not improbable that he began to be employed by Louis on these memoirs in the following year. This is however conjectural, and certain facts seem to stand in the way of this hypothesis. It seems agreed, however, that at all events it could not be later than 1670 when this office was assigned to Pelisson. These memoirs go no further than 1671. In 1672 the king

took Pelisson to the army, with a view, as it is conjectured, of making the man whom he intended for his future historian, the eye-witness of his military exploits.

But how then does it appear, that they are really the work of the king and not that of the transcriber? it seems proved from several circumstances, 1st, they profess to be so, a circumstance of some weight, where there is no contradictory evidence; 2ndly, they were found among the king's papers by the Maréchal de Noailles; 3dly, they are in the style of Louis's acknowledged productions; 4thly, there are facts, discovered in these memoirs which could have been known to no one else; and 5thly, there are corrections in the king's own hand-writing.

It would seem that some parts were taken down immediately from the dictation of the monarch, others from rough copy and notes which were afterwards destroyed. This circumstance accounts for some inequality of style and some passages and phrases that savour more of the academician than the monarch. On the whole these memoirs seem to have received the sanction and avowal of Louis XIV. and as father, as king, and as author, he has acknowledged the design, the form, the facts, the sentiments and the style.

As to the military memoirs, which make a second part of the contents of these volumes, they are taken from papers in the hand-writing of the king. They were a collection of notes and memorials written on detached pieces of paper, often without dates, and not arranged by the king himself in any kind of order. He does not seem to have occupied himself in this undertaking till the year 1678, and it is probable that it was at the house of Madame de Maintenon, that he composed these papers. Those who think that Louis could not, without assistance, write with the elegance and correctness which appear in these memoirs, will be ready to ascribe the honour of it to M. de Maintenon, who was assuredly well worthy to succeed Pelisson in this confidential employment.

The letters which make the third part of what may be styled the works of Louis, have been collected from various quarters. The president Rose, secretary of the king's cabinet, made a large collection of them in seven volumes 4to. The present general Grimoard has likewise a collection of several volumes, and there are others in different libraries, and in other places. In such a profusion of materials, the principal difficulty consisted in making a just selection. And as it is the custom of monarchs to set their hands to a multitude of papers written by ministers or their secretaries, to judge of what was properly his own must be

a work of much critical sagacity, joined to a perfect familiarity with the style and sentiments of the writer. On this account we apprehend that these letters will upon the whole be less regarded as depicting the mind and talents of the writer, than the other writings.

We have thought it necessary to be thus particular on the subject of the authenticity of these works, that those who are interested in historical researches, to whom they cannot but have forcible attractions, may be fully in possession of the grounds on which this important point rests. The mind, in pursuing the thread of historical narration, feels but half satisfied, unless it imagines itself to have detected the most secret springs which have set in motion the principal actors in the scene. Conjecture as we will, we must often be completely in the dark : indeed it is a subject on which the actors themselves frequently impose upon their own minds. But it is impossible to arrive nearer the truth, than by listening to him who sat at the helm, and whose arm directed the course of the vessel. The memorials here before us prove that what has been published of the very interesting portion of history comprehended under the reign of this prince is in several points incorrect and incomplete : foreigners as well as Frenchmen will find many particulars to gratify their curiosity and direct their judgment.

Louis has suffered the fate which is common to those who have acted distinguished parts in the world, and who have been subject to varieties of fortune : at one time flattery raised him to the rank of a hero ; at another hatred and contempt depressed him below that of a man. These memoirs will make him more thoroughly known ; and whilst they compel him to renounce all title to exalted genius, they establish his claim to good sense, industry, and according to his own conception of things, to rectitude of intention. The following observations on the employment of time, and the advantages of industry, are applicable to all ranks, and whilst they read a useful lesson to those of the most exalted station, they may afford a species of consolation to those to whom activity is a condition, not of choice, but of necessity.

' As to labour, my son, you will probably begin to read these memoirs at a time of life when you have been more accustomed to fear than to love it ; happy to have escaped from the controul of masters and preceptors, to have no longer fixed hours of long and certain application. I must here, however, inform you most truly that in this consists the secret of reigning ; and that to wish for

power on any other condition, is to be ungrateful and audacious to the Deity, to men unjust and tyrannical; but that these conditions of royalty, which may seem hard and severe to one born for this high function, would appear light and easy, if you aspire to arrive at it.

'But still farther, my son, and may you never learn the truth of it by your own experience, nothing can be more laborious than great idleness if you have the misfortune to give way to it; you will be disgusted first with business, then with pleasures, last of all, with yourself, and will search in vain for that which is not to be found, for the charms of repose, not earned by some preceding fatigue and employment.

'I have made it a rule to labour regularly twice a day, each time for two or three hours with different persons, without reckoning the hours that I passed alone, nor the extraordinary time which I occasionally gave to extraordinary affairs: there never was a moment in which I might not be spoken with, if the occasion was rather urgent; excepting with foreign ministers, who in the familiarity which is allowed them, find opportunities too favourable either to obtain their demands, or to fathom your intentions, and who therefore ought rarely to be heard unprepared.

'I cannot describe to you the advantage I immediately reaped from this resolution. I found my spirits and courage rise. I found myself wholly changed, I discovered in myself new powers, and with joy reproached myself with my former ignorance of myself. My former timidity, the first offspring of the judgment and which caused me much pain, particularly when I had to speak a little at length and in public, was wholly dissipated. Then only did I appear to be a king and born to royalty. I felt at length a charm difficult to be expressed, and with which you will never be acquainted, but by your own experience.'

The education of this prince had been miserably neglected, insomuch that he was not tolerably skilled even in Latin; though there is a translation of the first book of Cæsar's Commentaries, for the use of his son, which flattery has ascribed to him, and which the editors of these volumes have, with a strange inconsistency, admitted into their collection, whilst they acknowledge it to be spurious. But the want of instruction from books, and school learning was more than compensated by an habitual intercourse with some of the most enlightened men of his time. He was present too at the frequent councils which were held during the troubles of his minority, and the great variety of scenes which he witnessed, and in many of which he was called upon to act, during the agitations of this tumultuous period, must have fitted him for the station he was destined to fill more perfectly than could have been done by books, or by the most sage and prudent council.

He was bred up by his mother in habits of great devotion and of the deepest reverence for the church; and the marks of their early impressions are visible in every part of his works. But as to the foundations of his faith he was in perfect and total darkness. He has chosen in some passages of his works to lay open the grounds of his belief; but they rest intirely upon the popular and common-place arguments on the subject, and it is not probable that he had ever received any farther information, but what might be gathered from conversation, and by attendance on the public duties of the church. But he has been treated with injustice, when he has been charged with possessing a persecuting spirit; in his own sense of the word he was tolerant; that is to say as far as it was possible for one to be who thought conscientiously, that those who differed from him were sinning against God, that there ought to be but one church on the face of the earth, and that it was the duty of the magistrate to promote uniformity by all the means in his power. His treatment of his protestant subjects during the first years of his reign was mild and reasonable, and it would have been well indeed, had he persevered in the same maxims of moderation which he then adopted, and on the success of which he plumed himself, 'since (as he exultingly relates) God has been willing that it has been followed, as still is so every day by a great number of conversions.' This policy is thus described:

'Upon this general information, I believed, my son, that the best method gradually to reduce the Hugonots of my kingdom, was, in the first place, not to oppress them with any new rigour, to cause the privileges they had obtained from my predecessor to be respected, but to allow them nothing more, and even to confine my performance of these engagements within as narrow limits as justice and propriety would permit. I appointed this year, for this purpose, commissioners to execute the edict of Nantes. I carefully suppressed all the enterprizes of those of that religion; as in the Fauxbourgh Saint Germain, where I was informed that they had begun to hold secret meetings, and to form schools; at Janets in Lorraine, where, though they had no right to assemble, they had fled in great numbers, during the disorders of the war, and held their meetings; and at Rochelle, where none but the old inhabitants and their families had been allowed to settle, they had gradually attracted a number of others, whom I obliged to quit the place.

'As to favours which depended on myself, I resolved, and I have pretty steadily adhered to it, to grant them none; and this I have done from kindness rather than from enmity, to oblige them to reflect from time to time of themselves and without violence, whether they had any good reason to deprive themselves voluntarily of ad-

vantages, which they might enjoy in common with my other subjects?

'But to enable them to profit by their present condition, and to listen, more willingly to the truth, I resolved even to attract, even by pecuniary rewards, those who shewed themselves tractable; to incite as much as possible, the bishops, to labour at their instruction, and to remove the scandals which had caused their separation; and to put none into these offices, nor any others in which I had the nomination, but persons of piety, application, and knowledge, capable of repairing by an opposite conduct, the disorders which their predecessors had produced in the church.

'But I am still, my son, far from having employed all the means which I have in my mind, to bring back by gentle methods those whom education, and more often a zeal without knowledge retains conscientiously in these pernicious errors. I shall have, I hope, other occasions to speak of them without explaining to you beforehand designs which time and circumstances may alter in a thousand ways.'

We may venture to pronounce, that Louis would have been himself shocked, could the picturer of the calamities which arise from a departure from this system of moderation, have been presented to him, when he was dictating these sentences. The passage we have quoted shows that on this subject at least his views were narrow, and his projects crude and little adapted to the end proposed. His subsequent measures of mildness were more senseless still, and cannot but provoke a smile at the complete ignorance of human nature which they betrayed. But besides synods in which the predominant party (as is usual) showed their insolence and the contempt in which they held their adversaries, and the weaker both their pertinacity and their terror, corruption was employed to a great extent and on a very whimsical occasion. The king's devotion was unable to restrain him from carnal sins at which his conscience revolted. His scruples made him separate in 1676, from Madame de Montespan: but she soon resumed her influence. In a new access of devotion, or perhaps to expiate his relapse, he consecrated a fund for the conversion of heretics.* Its destination was kept a long time in secret, whether to avoid the ridicule which many would not fail to cast upon such conversions, or that Louis, who in all

* Such was Louis's ridiculous rage for making conversions, that he sent Abbé de *Pomereis* to Portugal with orders to use every possible method to convert the marechal Schomberg, 'who,' he says,' 'certainly deserved to have especial care taken of his fortune and of his salvation, since he was a man of extraordinary merit.' Memoires Historiques, Tom. II. p. 118. He was so superstitious that he seems to have believed Joan d'Arc to have been really endued with miraculous powers. 'Je me souvenois qu'ils (the English) etoient anciens et irreconciliables ennemis de la France, dont elle ne s'etoit sauvée autrefois *que par un miracle*, &c. Ib. tom. I. p. 172.

his actions was a strict observer of decorum, was a little ashamed of his apostolic zeal for religion, at a time that parts of his own conduct were so incorrect. His secretary Pelisson, himself a celebrated convert, (a change which, under heaven, he ascribed to his majesty) had the distribution of this fund. He distributed it to the bishops; the bishops paid the converts, sending to Pelisson lists of the converted, and the price paid for each. At first every province yielded annually 3 or 400 converts. The court resounded with the success of this plan; year after year, the demands were greater, and at length Pelisson became to be a sort of regular minister of religion.

But from this fund (as from the box of Pandora), sprung all the evils which fell upon the protestants. It is easy to see how fit an instrument a king, who could be so duped, must be in the hands of those who wished to mislead him. The purchase of these pretended conversions among the dregs of the reformed, the frauds of those who received and of those who distributed, all concurred to persuade the king, that the protestants were no longer attached to their religion, that they were ready to sacrifice it for the slightest motive of interest. This prejudice it was that dictated all the laws which were successively made against them.

Perhaps, then, we must absolve Louis of malignity of intention, in the persecution he excited against a large and useful portion of his subjects. But our verdict in favour of his heart must be given at the expence of his understanding. Nor can it amount to a complete and entire acquittal. No mind is so darkened by prejudice nor so blinded by bigotry, as not to acknowledge the sanctity of oaths, of treaties and compacts; nor can the conscience be ever so completely lulled, as not to feel any alarm at the violation of all these ties, which cause man to repose upon man, and at the commission of actual crime, for the attainment of pretended good. In vain will he plead at the bar of severe and impartial justice the goodness of his intentions. Good intentions are a wretched excuse for bad actions. If in princes they produce misery and desolation to the people, of what value are they to them? or how are they to be distinguished from the basest plots against their liberty and happiness? With the very best intentions a man can be virtuous only by halves unless he has acquired that modesty which is the first fruits of knowledge, and has learned to stifle the overweaning presumption that his own opinions must of necessity be right, and the opposite must be wrong. This is a task hard to be learned by any man, and by princes almost impossible. Who was to teach it Louis, surrounded as he was by courtiers who trem-

bled at his beck, and who affected to admire every sentence coming from his lips? Traits of this sort of presumption are conspicuous in many parts of his writings, from the sort of oracular solemnity with which he delivers the most trite and common-place sentiments, and the pompous tone of authority in which he invests the most vulgar opinions.

We have already informed our readers of the nature of the historical memoirs; but it is right to be a little more particular. It is then a series of historical details on all the principal measures of his government, whether they regarded internal regulations or the intercourse with foreign powers. He begins with the year 1661, and terminates his account with the year 1670. Unfortunately, the memoirs of 1663-4 and 5 have perished. The detail is accompanied with an exposition of the motives by which he was guided in all his principal measures, and interspersed with reflections suggested by the occasion, or with maxims of piety, prudence or policy, suited to the high station for which his son was destined.

The memoirs then embrace a very short portion of the long and eventful reign of this monarch. They come down only to the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, including the short naval war with England in the years 1666 and 1667, and the war with Spain *on the rights of the queen*, which was terminated by that treaty. Their value therefore is less as historical documents, than as depicting the mind, character, and genius of the monarch. But in the former point of view they are not without interest, on some points, respecting which though of no great importance, writers have hitherto been under misapprehensions.

For example, it has been thought that in the war between the English and Dutch in the year 1666, in which Louis acted as an auxiliary to the latter, the king had designedly kept back his own fleet, and was pleased to see the maritime powers weakening themselves by naval engagements, in which he was unconcerned; and the majority of historians have adopted these suspicions. But his own account of his conduct does not confirm them; and as he seems, on all occasions, rather to pride himself upon the devices he made use of to serve his own ends than to wish to conceal them, we see no reason to distrust him. The French had hitherto taken very little concern in maritime wars, and this was the first effort of the king to act a distinguished part on the ocean. Its novelty made it the object of universal curiosity, and the great topic of conversation of all the circles of Paris; and the young nobility were so eager to distinguish themselves in this new field of glory, that some of them went on board the fleet in defiance of orders, and on their return were im-

prisoned for their disobedience. The king himself partook of the general ardour, and was burning with impatience for naval renown. Neither his age, his habits of thinking, nor his political views seem likely to have suggested the cautious and frigid policy which has been attributed to him, and it seems more reasonable to believe that he partook of the common disappointment which was felt, when his ships returned to port without fighting. He retorted on the Dutch the accusation of exposing his fleet to the hazard of destruction by having failed in their engagements; and he congratulates himself warmly that his ships at length escaped into port from such imminent peril with the loss of no more than a single frigate.

Sir John Dalrymple has fixed upon the end of the year 1667, as the time when, by a scandalous and degrading treason, Charles II. bartered the interest of his country and his own honour for the gold of Louis XIV. But it appears certain that there was a secret intercourse between the two monarchs even before the peace of Breda, which was signed on the 10th of July in that year. The following passage puts this point beyond a doubt:

'Therefore I resolved to accede to their demands; but nevertheless that I might not openly declare it, without gaining some important advantage from the declaration. I demanded of the king of Great Britain, whether, upon my pledging myself *in secret* to pass this article of the treaty, he would promise one on his part not to enter into any engagements against me for the space of a year.'

Now, most assuredly, such a promise would never have been asked, much less would the proposal have been assented to, except from some private consideration. Of what nature this was, the infamous subsequent conduct of the English king has placed beyond all controversy.

We find some mistakes in the course of the narrative, which may very readily have escaped from the pen of a writer who trusted to his memory, and who could have felt no anxiety to be accurate on minute points. For example, the circumstances of the sale of Dunkirk induce him to explain how the place had originally fallen into the hands of the English. The protector Cromwell had formerly offered to purchase it, and to join in a war with Spain, on condition of the acceptance of his proposal. Upon this offer being rejected he assisted the Spaniards, and by the united forces of the two nations France lost both Dunkirk and Gravelines. This was in 1652. Such is the account of Louis. But Cromwell was not made protector till 1654. Most undoubtedly therefore all the personal views which the king attributes to Cromwell

in this negotiation must have been purely imaginary, whatever steps he took in 1652 must have been merely as a servant of the commonwealth.

We wish to let our readers hear Louis speaking again as the counsellor of his son. The wisdom and judgment of the followin gadvice will we doubt not be universally allowed; and at the same time it proves the frankness with which the king discloses his own foibles.

'Before my departure for the army, I sent an edict to the parliament. I erected the state of Vaujours in favour of Madame de Valliere, and acknowledged a daughter I had by her, for not intending, when I went to the army, to keep at a distance from danger, I thought it just to assure to the child the honour of her birth, and to secure to the mother an establishment suitable to the affection I had for six years entertained for her.

'I might certainly have omitted speaking to you of this attachment, it being an example which it would be better to avoid; but having laid down rules for your conduct on the defects of others, I am unwilling to withhold those which you may collect from my own.

'I must mention, in the first place, that as a prince ought ever to be a model of virtue, it would be well could he absolutely preserve himself from the weaknesses which are common to him with the rest of mankind, and the more as he may be assured that they cannot be kept secret. Nevertheless, if it happens that, in spite of ourselves, we fall into these errors, it is necessary at least, in order to diminish their ill consequences, to observe two precautions, which I have always practised, and from which I have reaped great advantage.

'First, let the time which we give to love, never be at the expence of our business; for our first object ought ever to be the preservation of our glory and our authority, things which cannot be sustained but by application; for however transported we may be by passion we ought to consider, and that even for the sake of our attachment, that if we diminish our credit with the public, we at the same time lessen the esteem in which the person is held, who is the object of our regard.

'But the second consideration, and that which is the most delicate and difficult of observation, is that in resigning our heart, we should remain absolute masters of our judgment; that the beauty, which is the source of our joys, should have no concern with our business; but that they should continue to be things perfectly distinct. You know what I have said to you on various occasions against the credit of favourites: that of a mistress is still more dangerous.

'The heart of a prince is attacked like a fortified place.

'The first object is to obtain possession of all the out works. A woman of talents makes it her first business to remove every body who is not in her own interests; she infuses a suspicion of one, and a dislike to another, that herself and her friends may be the only

persons listened to; and if we are not on our guard against this practice, in order to content herself only, we must discontent all the world besides.

'From the moment that you give a woman the privilege of speaking on important business, you will most assuredly be led astray.

'The tenderness we feel for them, extending itself to all they say, their errors even insinuate themselves into us, and insensibly incline us to their wishes; and their natural levity making them often attach more consequence to trifles than to the most important objects, they almost always take the wrong side of a question.

'They are eloquent in their expressions, earnest in their intreaties, positive in their opinions, and the whole is often founded upon an aversion to one, a wish to promote another, or some indiscreet promise.

'A secret is never secure with them; for if they are without judgment, their simplicity will betray what they ought most to conceal; and if they have sense, they are never without intrigues and secret connections. They have always some secret adviser on the subject of their elevation or their support, and to such they never fail to disclose all they know, when they think they can draw from this quarter any arguments about their own interest.

'In these cabals it is that every thing is concerted, what part they must take, what artifice they must practice to serve their ends, how to get rid of their enemies, and how to establish their friends, what address they must use to secure us more completely and retain us longer; in short, sooner or later they make all their plans succeed, without our having the power to secure ourselves, but by one only method; which is to refuse them permission to speak on any subject but matters of pure pleasure, and studiously to avoid giving them the smallest credit in what concerns our affairs, or the persons of those who serve us.

'I will confess to you, that a prince whose heart is deeply touched by love, being always prepossessed by a great esteem for the object of his affection can hardly relish all these precautions: but it is in difficult situations, that virtue is tried, and besides, it is undoubtedly for the want of attention to these maxims that we read in history so many direful examples of families extinguished, thrones reversed, provinces ruined, and empires destroyed.'

This portrait which Louis offers of himself, as far as we can collect from this specimen of his powers, is that of a mind strong, laborious, retentive, and judicious. His bias was always towards rectitude, and where he erred it was from the indelible impressions made on his infant mind, of the prejudices unavoidably attached to his exalted rank. Glory was his ruling passion; to be much spoken of and to be well spoken of the object of his constant ambition. But it was not the glory which warmed the heart of a Henry IV. the glory of being the source of joy, peace, and contentment to surrounding millions, and of receiving the benedictions of admir-

ing nations; to extend his empire, to be the terror of his neighbours, and to give the law to all Europe; this was the glory which inflated his heart, and was the main spring of all his projects. He thought himself an honest man; and rectitude, integrity, and good faith are the constant themes of his exhortations. But he forgot that the integrity of private life is hardly to be accounted among the royal duties. He is exempted by his rank from all the cares which stamp a value on integrity, and which render the practice of it a virtue. He confesses frankly, 'that it is the prince only who has no fortune to establish but that of the state, no acquisition to make but the increase of his monarchy, no authority to increase but that of the laws, no debts to pay but those of the public, no friends to enrich but the body of the people.' In these circumstances what temptation has the prince to be other than an honest man? But in his quality of prince, Louis undisguisedly assumes the privilege of dispensing with all the rules of vulgar morality. To corrupt the councils and embroil the affairs of all his neighbours, to seize on defenceless territories, to make engagements for no other purpose than to break them, or to conceal some sinister design, these are actions which he does not seem to think inconsistent with the laws of probity, and in the commission of which he seems rather to glory than to be ashamed. It is truly amusing to hear him on one occasion taking much credit to himself for not breaking his faith.

'Though it was my interest to take so fair an opportunity of remaining neuter, yet I could not prevail upon myself to violate my engagements, as I well knew that the English had been the aggressors.'

This seems fair and honourable. But listen to the very next sentence, in which he exposes the whole secret of his pretended honour.

'I nevertheless delayed declaring myself, in order to attempt bringing them to an agreement; but seeing that my mediation had no effect, and *fearing that they would come to an agreement of themselves to my prejudice*, I at length openly took the part which I was bound to do.'

We need say no more, we think, to illustrate his notions of the obligations of treaties.

His ideas of the extent and sanctity of the regal authority were carried to the highest pitch of extravagance. Kings are the lieutenants of the Divinity, accountable to God alone for their actions. It is the will of God that whoever is born a subject, should yield a perfect and absolute obedience.

'The king is the sole proprietor. Every thing which is in our states, of whatever nature it be, is equally our property, and ought to be equally dear to us. The money which is in our purse, that which is in the hands of our treasurers, and *that which we suffer to remain in the commerce of our people*, ought equally to be the object of our attention.'

Again:

'You ought to be persuaded that kings are absolute masters, and ought to have the full and free disposal of all property, whether possessed by churchmen or by the laity, to use the whole of it like sage economists, &c.'

According to this account, the earth and all its fruits, the hordes of the miser, and the gew-gaws of the spendthrift, in short all property has but a single master: men themselves must belong to him, since they could not live but according to his good pleasure. Thus it was that Louis formed the idea of a perfect monarchy. It were difficult to determine which were the most chimerical, this notion of all property being united in one person, or that of an equal partition of property. Both are equally absurd, and in this, as in many other cases, the extremes meet.

Louis had an extreme antipathy to the office of prime minister, and would never suffer any one to occupy such a post. He thought by entering much into the details of administration, that he governed alone, and that his ministers were merely the instruments for fulfilling his own purposes. But he often deceived himself. Louvois, though never a prime minister, acquired a preponderance equal to one; and others had the art, by the use of artful suggestions, to make him pursue their measures, and by giving him the credit of them, to make them pass for his own. He was frequently the dupe of this artifice.

It is probable that he did not want personal courage; but as that is a quality very much improved by habit, it is not likely that he had acquired that coolness in danger which characterises the old soldier. He talks so much of exposing his person, as to betray an apprehension that he was not thought so highly of in this point as he wished. Men are rarely ostentatious of the qualities, which all the world allow them to possess.

He was well aware of the pernicious effects of flattery, but he could not resist its seductions. What indeed was this glory which was the end of all his actions, but the desire to be the great object of the thoughts and tongues of men? In truth, to be the constant object of his own contemplation,

and to think himself habitually observed by the whole world, was the permanent state of his mind ; it is the clue to all his actions, and the spirit of all his writings and conversation. But it was not the glory which is felt rather than seen, which springs from the love and gratitude of happy and contented subjects, and which delights in the consciousness of being the source and author of their blessings: this was not the glory for which the heart of Louis panted. To be at the head of his armies, to give the law to all Europe, and pursue with unremitting industry, and a total disregard of justice schemes of aggrandisement and ambition, these were the only objects which entered into his conception of glory, and to acquire which formed the grand occupation of his long reign. War then was the theatre on which he most wished to shine, and the talents and character of a great captain was what he affected with most delight.

The military memoirs, which form the 3d and 4th volumes of this collection give the true measure of his military capacity. His rules for the infantry and the cavalry, his orders for the marches of his forces,and the daily details of the service, all written with his own hand, show that he possessed great application, a mind capable of embracing at once a great variety of objects, and an attention equally scrupulous and persevering in following his object to the very completion of his purpose. But the objects themselves were commonly minute; and Louis did not perceive that by his attention to trifles quite beneath his sphere, he renounced all claim to genius, talents, and grand conceptions. This part of his works is entirely in his own hand writing, and the style is more negligent than in the others. The corrections of Pelisson cannot be traced in it. They are in a state of great imperfection. Those relating to the years 1673, 1678 and 1692 are compleat; there are some interesting fragments on the years 1672, 1674, and 1676; there are but a few notes upon the years 1667 and 1668,and nothing at all upon 1675, 1677, 1684, 1691, and 1693.

These pieces have been arranged by general Grimoard. He has, in order to give a form and regularity to the whole, supplied the details of each campaign, where the original materials are deficient, and illustrated the text by notes. There are also interspersed several memoirs of the commanders, and articles of correspondence between the principal generals and the king or his ministers. Upon the whole therefore, our readers will see that these two volumes furnish materials almost for an entire history of the military transactions of this reign.

The letters of Louis on subjects not immediately military are contained in the fifth and a part of the sixth volume. They are almost all of them letters to monarchs, ministers, generals, intendants, &c. Of letters truly familiar we hardly find one. Louis never descended from the high character he acted on the great stage of the world. He is in every line a king, never a mere mortal man.

We cannot avoid noticing one letter addressed to his naval commander, the duke of Beaufort, as it seems to decide completely the point we adverted to in a former part of our critique, and clearly shows that Louis did not fully prevent the junction of his fleet to that of his Dutch allies in the war of 1666. After paying the duke many compliments for his zeal in the service, the king very calmly represents to him some parts of his conduct with which he is dissatisfied. Among other articles of accusation we find the following:

'After having at first condemned the Charente, and in order to withdraw the fleet from that river as soon as possible, you both wrote to me and made me understand by Etemart, that you were in want of nothing, and that in three days you should be in a condition to sail. On this I sent word to the states of the United Provinces, that you would be immediately in the channel with all my fleet, and nevertheless you still remained sixteen or eighteen days in the Charente, and at your arrival at Belleisle, the Marquis de Belleford, informed me that you were still in want of many necessaries.'

This whole letter is one of the most interesting articles of this part of the collection.

What the editor calls 'Opuscules Litteraires' form the fourth division of this work. They consist of the translation of the first book of Cæsar's Commentaries, the merit or the faults of which are probably to be attributed to M. Hardouin de Pérefina, his preceptor, rather than to the monarch. There are besides two little songs and an impromptu, which have been ascribed to the king. This part has at least brevity to recommend it, if we can give it no other praise.

The whole is closed with some pieces supplemental to the works of the monarch, containing anecdotes, letters, or memoirs, connected with the events of his reign. They are in number nineteen, and make up half the last volume. They are not all of equal interest or importance. Most of them have been published before. Those that relate to the secret negociations between Louis XIV. and Charles II. are taken from Dalrymple's Memoirs, which though they have now been published in England near five and twenty years, seem even

at this day to be imperfectly known in France. A few of them are now for the first time brought to light.

Having finished what we have thought necessary to say on the principal contents of these interesting volumes, we must confine ourselves to stating simply that there is prefixed to them (besides a portrait of the monarch and a number of fac-similes of his hand writing, and that of some persons of the first distinction of his court) a long article, entitled 'New Considerations on Louis XIV.' by M. Grouvelle, the editor. In it he takes a very enlightened view of the character of this prince and the spirit of his reign. We must content ourselves with saying that these Considerations discover a deep insight into the springs of human action, and a judgment equally penetrating and discriminative. We must likewise mention that an edition of that part of these works, which are here entitled, historical and political memoirs, edited by M. de Gain-Montagnac appeared last year. We noticed this work in the Appendix to the eighth volume of our Review; justice obliges us to add, that, besides minor errors and defects, the work edited by M. de Gain-Montagnac is deficient in whole articles which are to be found in this. With regard to the end of 1661 and the year 1662 there is nothing, the documents with regard to that year not being to be found in the Imperial Library, and the principal motive of the publishers seems to have been to anticipate the present edition, the publication of which had been previously announced.

ART. II.—*Memoires de Henri de Campion.*

Memoirs of Henry de Campion, Lord of Feugneri, Boseferei, la Lande and Feue, Gentleman of François de Bourbon-Vendome, Duke of Beaufort, and Lieut. Colonel of the Regiment of Henri d'Orleans, Duke of Longueville: containing unknown Facts of the Reign of Louis XIII, and the first eleven Years of Louis XIV. particularly many interesting Anecdotes of the Dukes of Vendome, Beaufort, and Cardinal Mazarine, from 1634 *to* 1654. Imported by Deconchy. 1807.

THESE Memoirs have been drawn from the papers of the family of M. de Campion Montpoignant by the industry of General Grimoard, and are published as proper for forming the first of a series of original memoirs to illustrate the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. They were drawn up by the writer for the sake of his children and family; having himself (as he informs them) felt uneasy that he was ignorant of

the principal actions of his ancestors, from which in his youth he might have regulated his own life and conduct. We collect from this history of himself that M. de Campion was a man of just and honourable intentions, but occasionally warped either by his passions or the prejudices of his times; so that in this account of his own actions, he has related some that are rather to be shunned than to be imitated; and has with great *naïvetè* brought us acquainted with his foibles as well as with his good qualities. We must do him the justice to say that his virtues greatly preponderate over his faults, and that he has brought before our view a system of manners and opinions which now adays appear singular, and occasionally extravagant.

M. de Campion traces his family up to the time of Robert duke of Normandy, eldest son of our William the conqueror. He was himself the second son of Henri de Campion, descended in each line from antient and honourable families in the province of Normandy. He learnt his exercise and carried a musket (according to the practice of young noblemen at the time) in the regiment of guards, after which, at eighteen, he accepted an ensigncy, and served in his regiment two years.

At this time (1634) Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII, was a voluntary exile with the Spanish government at Brussels, being at enmity with Cardinal de Richlieu, who ruled France with a despotic authority. M. de Campion was seduced by an acquaintance to quit his corps, and join the party of the exiled duke at Brussels. But the duke speedily made his peace at court, and returned to France. His whole party was soon after ruined by the superior address of Richlieu, and M. de C. partook of the common lot. However fortune soon befriended him; and by the kindness of a relation he procured an ensigncy in the regiment de Normandie, one of the oldest and of the highest reputation in the service.

In this regiment he served for several years, and he gives us an account of his campaigns under various generals of high name in Alsace, Lorraine, Roussillon and Italy. Sieges and battles, marches and countermarches, the storming of camps, and the springing of mines have been ever the sport of princes, and the amusement of the people too, except that portion, who are the immediate sufferers. For our parts we may say with the poet,

> My ear is pained
> My soul is sick with ev'ry day's report
> Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled.

And as probably many of our readers may have the same

feelings, and many of those who have not may have their appetite for scenes of carnage satisfied at least, if not surfeited, by the relations which fill the columns of our daily journals, we must content ourselves with observing that M. de Campion's history bears every mark of scrupulous fidelity, and we must add of the greatest modesty in speaking of his personal services.

It is difficult for us to conceive at the present day, when the civil authority universally receives the most implicit obedience, how feeble and unsettled it was formerly. When it was submitted to at all, it was rather as to an evil which could not be avoided than from a principle of duty and subordination. The great lords were in a constant state of hostility to it, either resisting it openly and by force of arms, or selling their submission at the best price they could obtain. Every town and every hamlet struggled hard for the same species of rude independence, and yielded not a jot but where submission could be compelled by open force. If the king's troops were to pass through a town, the inhabitants would shut their gates, and if strong enough would make them change their route. If the parties were pretty equally balanced, the commander would accept a sum of money, to lead his men through other quarters. At times they would come to blows; and it seems not to have been uncommon, when the troops proved victorious, to give up the towns to pillage.

The great hero of modern warfare has been accused of making no account of the lives of his men, provided he carries his point. The heroes of the old school were equally regardless of human blood, from motives sometimes less excuseable; for they lavished it most wantonly, where it was physically impossible to carry their point. In 1639, the prince of Condé made one of those impracticable attempts to force the Spaniards to raise the siege of Salcis in Roussillon. M. De Campion's regiment before the attack consisted of thirty-five officers and eight hundred soldiers; of these twenty-nine officers were put hors de combat, and four hundred soldiers, nor would a man have escaped, had not the enemy's supply of powder been deficient. This murderous business was undertaken without a hope of success, but simply because the prince thought it right that cardinal Richlieu should have no pretext to injure him at court. M. de C.'s account of his own state of mind previous to the affair is sufficiently amusing:

'We had all of us, the preceding day performed the usual exercises of christians, when undertaking actions so full of peril. But I had a scruple of conscience which embarrassed me; it was that the sieur de Soion, a lieutenant in our regiment, and nephew of

Guitant, afterwards a captain in the Queen's guards, had received a blow from one of our captains of the name of Du Tuc, a very brave man, and had afterwards been forced by the maréchal de Schomberg to make up the quarrel; but being dissatisfied, he had asked me to be his second in an affair with Du Tuc as soon as we should be no longer under the maréschal's command. I had promised to serve him with pleasure, and we were now waiting for the end of the campaign to finish the affair. This circumstance gave me much uneasiness in our present hazard, for I have always, though a great sinner, had a great respect for religion. I did not however mention my uneasiness to my friend, contenting myself with saying to him in the hearing of his enemy, that in the present circumstances we should think of nothing but serving our king and country.'

M. de C. was soon relieved from his scruples, for poor Du Tuc was killed off at the first discharge. It is a pity that M. de C. could not have read Fielding's Amelia. Col. James, who was also very religious, has there proved that if the practice of duelling is not expressly excepted from the sixth commandment it is probably that it is merely from an error of the text. And when we survey the conduct of those who, as far as we can judge from outward appearances, have as much veneration for religion as M. de Campion professed, we cannot help believing that each of them has some secret salvo for their own favourite sins; though they would be grossly scandalized at extending it to the sins of their neighbours.

The place of loyalty to the sovereign was occupied in the breasts of men of honour, by an unbounded attachment to the interests of the family to whom they attached themselves: they seemed to think themselves bound to support their chief in all actions, whether good or bad, and to follow him through all the changes of his fortune. M. de C. has given us an example of his own fidelity to the duke of Beaufort, which is somewhat extraordinary for a man who had a great veneration for religion. After the death of Louis XIII. cardinal Mazarine succeeded to the power, which had been exercised by Richlieu. One of the first steps of his administration was to arrest the duke of Beaufort and his immediate adherents. It was rumoured that the duke had formed a plot against the cardinal's life. Cardinal de Retz has asserted, seemingly upon good authority, that no such plot ever existed, and that the whole was a forgery of the minister's, in order to get rid of his political enemies. But these memoirs place the existence of this conspiracy beyond a doubt. M. de Campion has related the circumstances of it very minutely, and the part which he himself took in it. The duke seems to have possessed a

weak head and a most corrupt heart; but M. de C. thinks he was instigated to this shocking attempt more by two females of the highest rank at court (the duchesses de Chevreuse and Montbacson than from his own inclinations. M. de C. recounts the arguments he used to dissuade the duke from this attempt, and ingenuously displays all the anguish he suffered from being concerned in it, and his joy at the frequent miscarriages of the design. The duke himself felt occasional pangs of compunction, but a conference with his female advisers never failed to banish his scruples, and to make him return to his purpose more resolutely than ever; and he therefore desired M. de C. to offer no more reasons against his attempt, since it would be to no purpose. As M. de C. looked upon the design with horror, we expected to find he instantly quitted the service of a master, who could so far degrade himself as to harbour it. But we find that his notions of honour, instead of prompting him to this conduct, imposed upon him as a duty, that having attached himself to the fortune of this man, he was bound to follow him under all circumstances, and not to abandon him, whatever part he chose to act. The secret therefore was to be inviolable, and he exacted only two conditions for himself; the first was not to be employed in the personal execution of the murder; the second, that if it were done out of the presence of the duke, he would not be present; but if the duke were there, he would without scruple keep himself near his person, to defend him against all accidents, which he was resolved to do both from his affection and his duty.

Such then were the ideas of a gentleman and a man of honour, when desired to assist at the assassination of a man, whose only offence was that he possessed more talents, policy and success than his rivals! After reading such a tale we can hardly help asking whether it be true, that there is no real standard of virtue, but that it varies momentarily with the fleeting fashions, humours and opinions of the day. At least it is in vain that we look for it in the approbation or condemnation of any party or cabal of individuals, who pursuing a common end, are apt to encourage each other in the violation of every principle of equity and humanity that stands in the way of their object. M. de Campion's observations on the conduct of his own brother, are so just that we are tempted to transcribe them.

'I went with my brother to the duke, thinking that the entire confidence he had in him would make him change his opinion. He took him to a retired part of the room, whilst I staid a little apart with those who were in the chamber; yet the wish I had to make him

after his design made me go nearer them, and I heard my brother, who was sitting near the prince, saying every thing, contrary to his promise, which he thought likely to make him accelerate the execution of this shameful attempt. This affected me greatly, since I saw clearly that all my efforts would be vain against these two men and the two women who at that time wholly governed one of them. I was more astonished at my brother, than at the others, as I knew that his manners were mild and his disposition naturallygood. I thought then as I have ever done since that that long intercourse he had kept up with factious persons, whilst he was in the service of the count de Soissons, had inspired him with a desire, against his natural inclination, of seeing the court and the state in perpetual agitation: he has since given many indications of this inclination, which is rather an acquired habit than a natural disposition.'

However the good fortune of the cardinal preserved him from this diabolical attempt; the duke was seized and imprisoned for several years; some of his agents underwent the same fate; others escaped only by skulking about and hiding themselves. This was the measure to which M. de C. was obliged to have recourse, to avoid the horrors of a dungeon. This state of jeopardy and uneasiness occupied five of the best years of his life, which were passed in the strictest concealment, sometimes in France, sometimes in the island of Jersey, and for a time in Italy, whither he followed the duke de Vendome, father of the assassin duke de Beaufort. The character he gives of this great personage is still more contemptible and infamous than that of the son. The ultimate treatment that M. de Campion received was such as he had reason to expect from wretches of their stamp. He was dismissed, not from any charge which they had against himself, but on account of a disagreement which took place between them and his elder brother. Knowing his integrity, they were not under any apprehension of his betraying the secrets he was master of. He is induced to make on this occasion the following reflection, which, though it may be too just, is whimsically placed in a book of serious advice to his children.

'This proves how dangerous it is with many princes to be known for a man of inflexible integrity; for the ingratitude which is natural to the greater part of them prevents their having a due sense of the favours they have received; and the assurance they feel that they will not be deserted in their disgrace, frees them from apprehension, the only principle, which obliges them to retain by benefits, persons who are willing to make their fortunes, without having any scruple with regard to the means.'

Among the evils of his situation, M. de C. was at least exempt from the dread of poverty. For having access to persons of the first rank, he was able to maintain himself handsomely by his skill at cards and other games. He speaks of this qualification with much complacency and self-approbation.

After his dismissal from the family of Vendome, M. de Campion attached himself to the service of the duke de Longueville, a nobleman of whose character he speaks in higher terms than of that his former patrons. He commanded a regiment of infantry raised by the duke. He served again for two or three campaigns; but in the year 1654 he entirely retired from active life, though he was still in the prime of life. He lived as a private gentleman for nine years more and died in the year 1663 at the age of fifty.

He has given the latter part of his narration considerable interest by pourtraying the felicity he enjoyed in domestic life, the virtue and sweetness of his wife, the delight he took in a favourite daughter, and the pangs he endured when she was torn from him by an untimely death. He seems apprehensive lest the dwelling upon these trifling subjects may betray a simplicity rather derogating from his character; and excuses himself from indulging it, as affording a solace to his affliction. We believe that those who have hearts true to the feelings of nature will sympathise more warmly with him in these few pages than in all the other adventures of his life.

We close the volume with a sense of some obligation towards those who have rescued it from annihilation. Towards the writer we cannot but feel sentiments of kindness, thinking him to have been a man of good principles, except when perverted by ignorance, party, and the prejudices of this age. The times which he describes were not such as to make us feel dissatisfied with our own. Factions were more violent and vindictive, war more bloody and ferocious, the morals of the great more shameless and abandoned, and we may therefore conclude that the manners of middle life could not in any respect have been preferable to those of the present times.

ART. III.—*Histoire particuliere des Evenemens, &c.*

A particular History of the Events which took place in France during the Months of June, July, August, and September, 1792, and which produced the Fall of the royal Throne. By M. Maton de la Varenne. 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

THE passions and prejudices of men must have a century to subside before any candid and fair judgment can be obtained on the origin and the events of the French revolution. They are ascribed at this time, with a spirit of resentful acrimony, to any causes, religious, civil, or philosophical, which the writers wish to discredit; and by some writers to any causes or persons, which are supposed to be hostile to the abuses and immoralities which had rendered government null, and which brought on that anarchy and misery which have been in all ages their effects.

It is true, when the king of France and his ministers, in endeavouring to repair an old den of thieves, brought it crumbling about their ears, projectors, of various professions and talents, either offered their services, or complied with requests and invitations, to assist in building up a new edifice; and the constitution of 1791 and 1792, was a most respectable production of the most respectable delegation, that was ever formed. We know it is the fashion to decry that constitution as ineffectual. Those who advance this opinion should recollect it never had a trial. The unfortunate Louis was ill advised in endeavouring to prevent that trial, and he lost his life, his throne, and the nation its liberty, by the artifices he used to evade the character of a constitutional king.

With the writer of this work, he is without spot or blemish, and those who voted his death seemed to have incurred the guilt of the sin against the Holy Ghost. The opinions of the writer are therefore of little account, but he has rummaged the common sewers of Jacobin ferocity, and he has endeavoured to subject to universal execration many of the victims, all the dupes, and all the abettors of that ferocity.

While therefore the historian may find in this work minute and correct information; while he may have some errors of common fame corrected—he must be on his guard where philosophers or republicans are introduced; for they are seldom allowed any wisdom or virtue.

The character of La Fayette is an exception, and is drawn in a manner which would scarcely discredit the abilities of the ablest historian.

'According to some, ambition of the mere inordinate nature had filled his mind with vast projects, which were to end in the supreme power, and he wished, after the model, but by the destruction of the Duke of Orleans, to obtain it *per fas atque nefas*. Such was the opinion given by the Englishman, Mr. Windham, in the House of Commons on the 16th of December, 1796. Can the idea of M. de la Fayette be separated from the remembrance of the thousands of victims that he has made by his crimes? Are not his misfortunes the fruits of his offences? Can any one be ignorant that the conduct of this soldier towards his king was inhuman and barbarous? Was not the unfortunate Queen of France heard to say, that La Fayette was a man whom she could never pardon?" According to others, he was guided in his revolutionary conduct by a blind unreflecting enthusiasm, and followed no fixed principle whatever. He proceeded at random without plan, without any end but that of making himself talked of as the hero of a revolution in France, as Washington had been in America; and this thirst for celebrity prevented him from saving the king and the monarchy, as he might have done, by destroying the work of the innovators, when he saw that it was productive of great evils. Neither the one nor the other of these judgments appears to me to be correct.

'Having only just reached his thirty-fifth year, when he was called to the command of the national guards at Paris, the Marquis de la Fayette, whose ideas had been rendered republican by the revolution in America, had not a judgment sufficiently mature to see that the system which had succeeded there, could not adapt itself to France; that our manners, our localities, our population, our customs, our superiority over most other nations, must make us preserve the monarchical form of government in preference to a republican, which is particularly suited to small states; because, serving as intermediates, or as lines of demarcation to the greater powers, and ill adapted to make war, they are under the protection of those which surround them. A later experience, in consequence of which a new monarchy has been established in France, proves the justice of this assertion.

'The general La Fayette might have some chivalrous ideas, he might be devoured by the ambition of immortalizing himself in France as Washington had done in America, where he himself had acquired almost an equal share of glory. He might not be superior to circumstances; that creative genius might sometimes fail him, which gains the mastery, and fixes the instability of fortune. But his views were upright; he possessed great address in taking advantage of events; activity, a cool and calculating head; a great share of humanity when it was in his power to use the engine of terror, and to swell his party with that of the Jacobins, of whom he was the declared enemy; of generosity towards some particular enemies whom it was in his power to deliver to the fury of the people; of personal disinterestedness, when he had it in his power to accept the staff of Marshal of France, the title of generalissimo, the sword of constable, and several other dignities which the court of

fered to him in order to secure his attachment. He refused all these honours, as on the 14th of July, 1789, he had refused the dictatorship, that he might give his whole mind to the consummation of the dangerous work which it was no longer in his power to destroy; a work, the establishment of which, as it seemed to him, could not fail to ensure the happiness of his country, and for the success of which he had expended 1,700,000 livres of his fortune, when he found himself compelled to fly. These are actions for which we vouch. He committed faults through inexperience; but he also did good; above all, to his philanthropy was owing a criminal jurisprudence more humane than the ancient one, since it allows to the accused counsel selected by himself, the exhibition of the indictment, and the publicity of the procedure. Let us lament over the men who have appeared on the political theatre in tempestuous times, and do not let us call down upon them the execrations of posterity, when we have the right to believe, that in the midst of the greatest errors, their heart was pure.'

In the following paragraph the partial spirit of censure returns upon him:

'In restoring the pagan ceremonies to their vigour, it was necessary to destroy all that belonged to popery. Manuel decreed the suppression of bells, without excepting the silver one of the palace, and that of St. Germain l'Auxerois, famous for the signal they had given for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Benoiston, a miserable advocate at Nantz, decreed also the expulsion of all the priests who had refused or retracted the oath prescribed on the 26th of December, 1790; and to cover these impious laws with a pretext of philosophy, Gaudet at the same time conferred the title of French citizens on the Englishman Thomas Paine, who published several pamphlets against religion, one of which, (the pretended "Age of Reason,") may be compared to the testament of the *curè* Meslier, who died in 1733; on Joseph Priestley, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, John Hamilton, David Williams, N. Maddison, and James M'Intosh; on N. Gorain; on Clootz, the Prussian; on Cornelius Pauw, his uncle, a German canon, author of Researches on the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Americans, (who died on the 7th of July, 1799, at Xantenn, a town near Aix-la-Chapelle); on Joachim Henry Camp, a Dutchman; on Jeremiah Bentham; on N. Pestalozzi, an Italian; on general George Washington; on the Polish general Thaddeus Kosciusko; on Girle the German publiciste; and on the poet Henry Klopstock, author of the Messiah.

'Many of these strangers whom the assembly invited to join with the convention for the purpose of fixing the destinies of France, bestowing at the same time the greatest eulogiums on their sentiments, their writings, and their courage, and from whom it expected pompous acknowledgments disdained to return an answer. The last mentioned person sent them his renunciation, in which he treated them as a vile collection of assassins, who by excess of bar-

barity and of rapine, had just placed an eternal barrier between themselves and the happy Germans.'

The character of Marat is masterly; because, though highly coloured, it is true.

'This man, who was intriguing from poverty, unjust by principle, malicious from want, a calumniator from interest, a hypocrite by calculation, ferocious by instinct, a villain by constitution, without judgment in his actions, without a taste for the sciences, arts, and belles-lettres, without depth in his projects, without any aim in his crimes, was born at Beaudry in Switzerland, in the county of Neuchatel, of poor and Calvinist parents, in the year 1744. He was about 4 feet 11 inches in height, his eyes were sunk and threatening, his head of a monstrous size, his look savage, his mouth of enormous width, his countenance dark and marked with the small-pox, his figure weakly, his appearance altogether was such as startled honest men. He called himself a doctor in medicine. He had printed at Amsterdam, in 1775, in three volumes, a treatise on man, or the principles and laws of the influence of the soul on the body, and of the body on the soul. In this work, which did not contain any new truths, he vilified, with an air of rhetoric and of assurance, those principles which Buffon, Haller, Lecat, and many other learned men had brought forward, treated Locke, Mallebranche, and Condillac as proud and ignorant, Helvetius as a *sophist*, whose reasonings are refined through an alembic; and asserted by way of a new theory, that the seat of the soul is in the *weninges* of the brain; that the juice of the nerves is the link of communication between the two substances of the body and the soul, that *thought discovers to man new worlds, and makes him enjoy even nothing*. This production full of sophistry and contradictions, was only known for a day by the refutation which Voltaire deigned to make to it, and which concludes thus: 'He affects to be bombastical in a dissertation on physic, and to speak of medicine in epigrams. Every man does his utmost to surprize his reader. An harlequin is visible throughout, who cuts capers to amuse the gallery.'

'Caring little for this criticism, which ought to have cured the madness for writing without the hope of being read, the *soi-disant* doctor nevertheless presented to the public in 1779, his discovery respecting fire, electricity, and light: a rhapsody in 8vo. which would have been for ever unknown, but for the pains he took to get its title inserted in the "France Literaire."

'Some years before the revolution, he had also published in England, "The Chains of Slavery:" a paltry work in which he vents his democratic venom with all his might.

'Hunger having brought him to Paris, his only business, till the assembly of the States General, had been to sell pretended remedies for the venereal disease, as well as a water of his own composition, which killed, in the flower of his youth, the Chevalier de Gouy-

d'Arcy, brother of a marquis of that name, who by his follies in the constituent assembly, of which he was a member, deserved to be sent to the mad-house, but was sent to the scaffold on the 23rd of July, 1794. At this juncture, at the very time that the officers of police were about to produce twelve criminal charges against him, he was vomited forth on the theatre of the revolution, like those destructive floods of lava, which volcanoes send out far and wide; he rushed into a career of politics, and published a pamphlet, entitled "Le Publicite François," whose ill-success caused him to change the title into that of "Ami du Peuple," with this motto, stolen from Jean Jacques: "Vitam impendere vero;" he caused himself to be remarked by his ferocious motions in the *Section du Theatre François*, where the Orlean faction enlisted him, that faction which despised and often disowned him, although it retained him in pay; so inconsistent was he, so absurd, so weak even in his wickedness, and changeable in the opinions which he affected.

'Besides the massacre of the prisoners in September, Marat demanded likewise, that of all the partizans of the ancient government, and wished that, by a prompt piece of justice, they would reduce to a fourth part the deputies to the convention of which he was a member. Being denounced on the accusation of wishing to light up a civil war in France by his journal, he was absolved by his faction, and after having voted for the death of Louis, with a rage that approached to madness, he was poignarded in his bath at the age of 53, by a young woman as virtuous as she was beautiful, named Charlotte Corday-d'Armans, on the 14th of July, 1793. The defenders and accomplices of this monster, who did not deserve to die by the hands of beauty, deified him throughout France, altars were erected to him, the *Section du Theatre François* took his name, and his disgusting skeleton was conveyed to the Pantheon.

'Every day after his just punishment, that cloud of blood-thirsty insects which had derived their birth from the putrefactions of the 2d and 3d of September, visibly diminished. The people which were exterminating themselves by their own hands, opened their eyes. The bust of the infernal divinity was every where dashed to pieces, his body was thrown into the sewer of the street Montmartre at Paris, and the Carousal freed from a mausoleum which his crimes had raised to him.'

And the massacre of the Duc de Rochefoucauld is described with great justice, except the insinuation totally groundless, that the amiable Condorcet solicited it.

'Louis, Alexander, Duc de la Rochefoucauld, and de la Roche-Guyon, a peer of France, formerly member of the constituent assembly, an academician equally distinguished by his indefatigable application to the sciences, and by his strict virtue, notwithstanding some political errors, had accepted the presidency of the department of Paris, and had signed the suspension of Petion and Manuel, after the 20th of June. The national assembly having re-es-

tablished them, he foresaw great misfortunes, and quitted Paris that he might not witness them. He was advised to pass over to England, but his filial and conjugal piety kept him in his country.

'Santerre, solicited as they say by Condorcet, took advantage of the popular frenzy, to sign an order for arresting the duke. A commissary of the commune was charged with it, and went to Forges; but more humane than his brethren, he warned him of his danger, and made him consent to go to his manor of Roche-Guyon, where he might guard him. They set off in the same carriage. Passing through Gizors, they were met on the 14th, as if by chance, by a party of Paris cut-throats, who loudly demanded the head of the duke. Troops came to his assistance. He passed the town in the midst of a quadruple line of national guards with their officer and the mayor. A cart blocked up a narrow lane in their road out of Gizors. An assassin found means to approach the duke, and threw a stone at him, which struck him in the arms of Madam d'Anville his mother, who was 93 years of age, and knocked him down lifeless. He had demanded in the first assembly, the liberty of the press, the suspensive *veto* for the king, the suppression of the monks, and wished to establish in France the English government, with some alterations. He was the fourth of his family killed in this month, including the two bishops who were put to death at Carmes, and his brother-in-law Charles de Boham Chavot, at the abbey.'

ART. IV.—*Histoire de Plantes d'Europe et Etrangères les plus communes, les plus utiles et les plus curieuses; ou Elemens de Botanique pratique, &c. &c.*

History of the most common, and most useful, and most curious European and foreign Plants, or Elements of practical Botany: a Work in which are given a precise Description, according to the Method and Principles of Linnæus, of the Genera, Species, their Synonymes, their Properties, and a Series of Observations drawn from Nature. By J. E. Gilibert, formerly Physician in Lyons, and Professor of Natural History in the University of Wilna, now Professor of Botany at the Garden of the Empress Josephine, &c. Second Edition, corrected, enlarged and ornamented with more than 800 *Figures in Wood, and* 50 *in copper-plate.* 3 *Vols.* 8vo. Lyons. Imported by Deconchy. 1806.

OF all the branches of natural history, botany requires perhaps the least genius and the most industry. A tenacious memory and indefatigable assiduity are sufficient to constitute a botanist without any extraordinary powers of imagina-

tion or judgment, the latter faculty indeed is seldom found among mere nomenclators of vegetables. Hence probably the reason that botany has been so much cultivated in France, when the people, notwithstanding their acknowledged levity, are industrious and persevering in whatever requires but a moderate exercise of the thinking powers. This is particularly evident in the plodding dullness of the Lyonese, who, although they can boast of few or no philosophers distinguished for their researches in the other two kingdoms of nature have many useful writers in botany, among the most distinguished of whom must be placed the author of these volumes. Practical utility indeed, not original research, seems to have been the principal view of the botanical physicians of Lyons, and they have according produced works, which however inadequate to extend the boundaries of human science, are yet well adapted to diffuse a familiar knowledge of botany among the midling and subordinate ranks of society.

M. Gilibert, in the true spirit of egotism peculiar to his country, introduces his work by a detail of his own life, his botanical studies and professional friendships. This garrulous vanity indeed is the more venial, as our septuaginarian author spent 18 months in exile during the murderous reign of Robespierre, every day of which he expected to fall into the hands of the executioners. 'The pleasures of herborization, he says, contributed to mitigate the fear of impending death, and the multitude of plants which he found in the environs of Beziers and the southern provinces, rescued him from despair and made him forget the dangers that incessantly menaced him.' After enumerating the principal events in his own life, and his travels in Lithuania he proceeds to take a brief view of the state and progress of botanical science at Lyons, where it appears that the commercial spirit of the booksellers and the love of money, not knowledge, have always been the *primum mobile* of botanical labours. We did not expect indeed to hear an old professor entertain such opinions on the little importance of this science, as are here avowed; and of 20,000 different species of plants now known, he justly asks, 'what memory is capable of retaining the Greek and Latin names by which they are designated? 2000 species at most are all that are considered as medicinal, alimentary, or applied to the arts, and the other 18,000 are of no consequence but to the insects which devour them, or to the animals which they nourish. Linnæus himself could remember the characters of only 4,000, and professional men, who have to study anatomy and medicine, cannot be supposed to devote the necessary time to

acquire a knowledge of such numbers.' These considerations therefore have induced the professor, 'ist, to proportion the number of plants to the powers of the memory; 2d, to simplify the nomenclature; and 3d, to adopt the surest and most easy methods.' To this end M. Gilibert here presents his pupils with the generic and specific descriptions of about 3000 of the 'most common, most useful, and most curious plants,' according to the method adapted by Linnæus, with the natural families and synonyma of Tournefort and other celebrated botanists. These descriptions are *illustrated*, or, as the author says, *ornamented* by 800 wood-cuts placed on the margin of the page in the manner of our old books on plants printed early in the 17th century, but in every respect greatly inferior to our designs at that period. Such cuts indeed may furnish a constant exercise to students, but it will be an exercise better adapted to experienced botanists than to tyros, to trace this analogy with the plants which they designate. The copper-plates are also marked with that mediocrity which characterizes every thing in Lyons. Of the vast mass of matter which these three volumes contain, however, we shall only notice what is most interesting of the miscellaneous and original information in this edition.

The second volume is prefaced by five memoirs, all of which relate to Lyons. The first, on the topography and climate of its environs, especially with regard to their botanical geography, which derives some interest from the charming variety of the scenery. The second, on the transmigration of plants, enumerates the most curious and rare ones found in the vicinity of that city. Among those are the aquatic plants, *hydrocharis, morsus ranæ, menyanthes nymphoides, isnardia palustris, limosella aquatica*, &c. Several Alpine vegetables are also found on the surrounding hills. The author infers that the number and variety of the plants must be increasing, because he has discovered several new and very remarkable ones, which were not observed by any of his very able predecessors, nor even by himself during the course of thirty years. The increase he ascribes to transmigration, and alleges that the inundations of the large rivers from Switzerland and Upper Burgundy transport seeds to this province where they eventually become indigenous; that the passage of birds brings others, and that the use of foreign grain has been a third cause of their new vegetable riches. The *hypochæris maculata* and *xanthium spinosum* are instanced as of the new species acquired by the latter means. It appears however that the station of plants is uncertain, and that if new ones be found many old ones become ex-

tinct, and hence probably the reason why the works of all the ancient or first botanists are now apparently so imperfect.

The third memoir presents an historical sketch of the progress of natural history, and of the works of the naturalists of Lyons. M. Gilibert dates the origin of the study of natural history in that city at the invention of printing, and contends that the common opinion which asserts that the taste for commerce extinguishes all the sciences, is proved erroneous, by the fact, that if Lyons can boast of several celebrated naturalists, it is entirely owing to one important branch of its commerce, the manufacture of books, which has been continued with unremitting industry from 1500 down to the fatal epoch of the revolution. The booksellers of Lyons, at an early period, embarked in the trade of printing books, and the learning and industry necessary to give correct editions of the classic works of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Pliny and Dioscorides, diffused a taste for the natural sciences; translations were afterwards required, and to effect this it was necessary to have recourse to nature, and to compare the living objects with the descriptions of them left by these ancient writers. Hence the Lyonese became at once expert naturalists and classical scholars. Among the most distinguished of these restorers of learning and science, must be ranked Champier, a polygrapher, says the author, if ever there were one who wrote on history, eloquence, poetry, jurisprudence and natural history, as in his *Hortus Gallicus*. Curtius or Decourt, Pons, and Dalechamp were also distinguished writers in the latter end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. Bauhin, Jussieu, Goiffon, Tourrette, Saubry, Dombei, Poivre, Sonnerat, Aleon-Dulac, Jars, and Patrin the mineralogist, are likewise enumerated among the Lyonese naturalists.

The fourth memoir is on the life and writings of Dr. Goiffon, author of the first *Flora Lugdunensis*, and the fifth consists of observations on the rural economy of the department of the Rhone, of which the city of Lyons is the capital. The latter is in many parts merely a repetition of the topographical observations in the first memoir, only somewhat more minute. The sterility of this department is frankly acknowledged, and the miseries of the poor and labouring classes of people are prevented from depopulating this place more rapidly only in consequence of the increased cultivation of potatoes. The decay of trade and decreased manufactures however have deprived the peasantry of the means of bartering their vegetables for clothes, as formerly, consequently the products of the soil have shared in the same common desolation. The only relief here deemed adequate

for these unfortunate people, is that the government should furnish them *gratuitously* with utensils and implements of labour. Such are the feeble hopes of prosperity under Buonaparte's domination.

M. Gilibert's third volume is introduced by a memoir on the progress of natural history, especially of botany, and on the misfortunes which seem attached to the labours of naturalists. Did the author wish to ridicule or put a stop to his study, he could not have adopted a more effectual method. Hitherto we have supposed that minds uniformly devoted to scientific researches in the economy of nature, could not be much troubled with the vulgar passions of jealousy, envy and personal malice. The professor, who fortunately confines his remarks to botanists only, presents us with a very different view of the agonized, vain and passion-troubled minds of botanical inquirers. The picture he draws would be truly alarming were it not in many respects evidently the phantom of a perturbed imagination. He enumerates with querulous minuteness all the pains, dangers, and expenses of foreign travel; but to minds ennobled by a true spirit of philosophy, the pleasures and profits greatly counterbalance all those temporary inconveniencies. It is true, those who have not pecuniary resources for such undertakings would perhaps do muchbetter by turning their attention to some other study less expensive and more profitable than that of natural history. But we cannot conclude that the study of the vegetable kingdom must necessarily be attended with dangers, difficulties, privations and personal animosities merely because Columna and Linnæus survived their mental faculties, and because the latter, who was perhaps the vainest man that ever lived, was particularly mortified by the observations of Haller, Adanson and Buffon on his System of Nature. It were much wiser and much more useful to inculcate the necessity of possessing a mind trained to candour and diffidence previous to its being directed to the study of nature, than to insinuate that all excellence must be obtained only by painful exertion, and must be rewarded with envy and malignity.

The last and by far the most novel and interesting essay prefixed to these volumes, is 'A view of the rural economy of Lithuania.' Our ignorance of the 'rural economy' of Poland, and indeed of almost every thing which concerns that country, contributes to render this sketch from the pen of so able a naturalist and accurate observer, still more interesting, especially at the present period, when it has again been made the theatre of one of the most bloody and desperate wars that have ever disgraced the annals of man-

and when it is probably about to undergo some new political changes. The author confines himself to a very brief view of the topography, agriculture, life and labours of the peasantry of this province or ancient duchy. We shall translate a few particulars:

'The grand duchy of Lithuania, says M. Gilibert, is a vast plain as large as the half of France; formerly it was one continued forest, which only nourished wild beasts, and even now two-thirds of it are still covered with trees. Well informed travellers who have traversed those vast forests, have found in their center and on their borders incontestable proofs that the soil was once cultivated. The foundations of buildings, caves and traces of ditches and moats every where demonstrate that this country has been several times cultivated and as often reduced to forests. It would be absurd to give a common character to all the peasants, as the mixture of races and the influence of luxury have occasioned great variety in the individuals; yet, it may be observed in general, that they are of a good stature, of an agreeable figure, regular features, and almost all fair or flaxen-coloured, and very few brown. Their life, hardy and rustic, renders them very robust; their character is tranquillity; they execute slowly all that they undertake, but if they are less active than the French, they can support labour a much longer time; they are healthful, subject to few diseases, and more old men are found among them than in the best provinces of France.

'These peasants are serfs or children of the glebe, and belong all to masters. Their lot is not the more unhappy; they are removed from all real wants; if by some misfortune they lose their houses, their cattle, or their crops, their masters are obliged to rebuild their houses, replace their cattle, and furnish them with grain. They have also land which they can transmit to their children, and of which their lords cannot deprive them. The poorest of these peasants has two oxen, two cows, a horse and pigs. Give a Lithuanian peasant a hatchet, and he will construct a dwelling for himself and his cattle; he neither wants carpenter, mason, smith, nor cartwright. In winter he makes a light sledge to draw wood from the forest, in summer he constructs a cart sufficiently light to transport his crop. With his hatchet he squares the trunks of trees, and placing them one above another, makes a very solid wall, between the joints of which he places a kind of moss and lichen which renders them impenetrable to the cold. These houses are parallelograms, and at one corner a large stove is very ingeniously invented, which keeps in the house a continual heat of 15 degrees, (Reaumur) whilst the cold without is occasionally 24°: the door and the chimney of this stove are in the outside, hence they are not troubled with smoke, and the roof is covered with straw. Near to this house is the stable, the walls of which are formed of platted boughs, between which are introduced potter's clay mixed with straw that constitutes a mass impenetrable to the cold. In the roof of these buildings are placed the hay and straw destined for the season's

fodder. The peasant and his cattle thus lodged, his mansion is next to be furnished. A square frame with four feet made of the stems of young oaks, on which is placed a wooden frame covered with fern and moss, constitutes his bed, which the rich cover with bear skins. A six-footed table and some wooden stools complete his furniture. The children in winter sleep on banks near the stove, in summer on leaves or in the open air. The kitchen utensils consist of a few earthen pots, a hollow jasper stone with a rough pestle serves to grind their grain, and an excavation in the trunk of a tree for a kneading-trough; the oven, which is very well built and furnished without a mason, is very near the stove. The dress of these people is a linen shirt manufactured in their own families, a tunic of sheepskin with the wool worn next the body, and a long brown woollen robe, also of domestic manufacture, with a red woollen girdle, which is the only article that they purchase. They never shave, and have long beards like the patriarchs; if they are sick they can support their diseases, as experience has taught them to know those which nature cures, and those under which it sinks.

'The soil is sandy and apparently sterile, yet the Lithuanians have abundant crops. Experience having taught them that the labour should be superficial, their ploughs are more simple than ours, and so light that they can be carried on the shoulders, and drawn by one horse. The rye sown in Lithuania differs from that of France in the great length of its roots, which traverse the sand and fix themselves in the clay beneath, and in the shortness of the stalk or straw, which does not exceed from 28 to 30 inches. The rapidity of the vegetation is surprising in this climate. About the 12th or 15th of May, the warm south winds have dissolved the snow, and left the fields of rye as green as meadows; in about sixty days after, by the 15th or 25th of July, it is all gathered and preserved for the winter. Rye furnishes the principal food of the people of every class, and the bread made of it is much superior to that of the same grain made in France. Barley is only used to make beer, and wheat is rarely cultivated. Buckwheat is the next most abundant grain, which with wheaten flour is chiefly used in pastry and sweatmeats. Hemp and flax are also cultivated, and oil drawn from their seed; but the oil most used by the Lithuanians in dressing or seasoning their food, is that extracted from wild cabbage seed, of which they cultivate three species, the *Brassica campestris*, *B. orientalis*, and the *Raphanistrum*. Hops are likewise found in this country, if not indigenous at least naturalized. Every peasant has a garden behind his house, in which are some indifferent apple and pear trees; but they are unacquainted with quickset hedges. Grapes ripen imperfectly, and are not sweet. All the spontaneous fruit trees in these frozen regions bear only acid berries, such as the gooseberry, the myrtle, and the briar; even the raspberries, so sweet in our climate, are acid in Lithuania; the strawberry alone is aromatic, sweet, and scarcely sourish. The bees however, which are abundant in this country, produce vast quantities of white honey, much superior to that of Narbonne, and which is found in almost every old trunk of a

tree in the forest. Of this honey a spirituous wine is made, and also of several berries. They likewise distil ardent spirits from fermented wheat, barley, rye, oats, cherry-stones, and *the heraclium sphondilium*, to which they add anise or fennel to give it a flavour. Custom enables them to drink three or four quarts of these liquors, without being sensibly affected. I have known thousands of Lithuanians who, at seventy years of age, had committed this excess throughout their lives. Anise, coriander, and fennel are every where cultivated, and the seed used in considerable quantities in their bread. Their fields are covered with large poppies, from which they extract no opium, and only use the seed, of which the Lithuanians eat copiously. Meat and game are very abundant, but seldom eaten by the peasants, who keep their fowl, butter, eggs and game to pay their tribute, and content themselves with the use of lard, and goose-oil fried. A horse costs twenty shillings, a cow 16s. a pair of oxen 3l. a large hog 8s. an ewe 2s. a goose 6d. a pound of butter 3½d. a pound of meat 1½d. a pound of wheaten bread 1½d. and a pound of rye bread ½d. a bottle of beer 1d. of spirits 3d. a shirt 1s. 6d. a woollen coat 12s. and a cover of skins 6s.'

Such is the picture which our author asserts is a correct likeness of the people of Lithuania. Of the nobles, who wanton in all the luxuries of potent princes, he says nothing. To this volume M. Gilibert has also appended, besides very useful Latin and French indexes, a dictionary of botanical terms and botanical writers and their works, tables of the systems and natural orders of Linnæus and Tournefort, and comparative lists of the ancient and modern synonymes: an analytical method or view of the plants in Lithuania, and what are generally dispersed over Europe. As an introduction to this analytical method, the author gives an apparently accurate and interesting view of the topography and geography of Lithuania, which would exceed our limits to analyze. His method, which is in fact an attempt to introduce a new system of botanical arrangement, is divided into four series of plants, and each series again divided into collections and fasciculi. Were we not already sated with systems in every branch of natural history, we should not withhold from this its due portion of merit; but it is enough to say that it is useless, as it cannot supersede those now established, and will otherwise contribute little to facilitate the progress of botanical knowledge.

With respect to the relative merit and utility of this History of Plants, to those who wish for a general and miscellaneous knowledge of the vegetable kingdom, we know of few works either in French or English, more easily accessible, or better adapted to familiarize simplers with the most useful herbs and plants. To the general description of each genus and species are added observations on the habits and medicinal

uses (if any) of the vegetable in question. These are accompanied with critical remarks on the author who has given the best design of the plant, and who has best defined and described it. Here M. Gilibert discovers both extensive reading and observation, and frequently bestows the honest tribute of approbation on the talents and industry of the English botanist Hill, now almost obsolete or forgotten in this country. We have to regret however that the wooden cuts which illustrate the descriptions, and which are so conveniently placed on the margin of each page, are so imperfect as rarely to convey any adequate idea of the external character or perspective of the plant. In the present taste for wood cuts, we know not why this practice should not be again adopted in this country, as formerly, to propagate the knowledge of botany, instead of representing insignificant figures from ancient mythology. The utility of the plan is self-evident.

ART. V.—*Essai sur la Vie Du Grand Condè, &c.*
Essay on the Life of the great Condè, by Louis Joseph de Bourbon Condè, his fourth Descendant. 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

THE authenticity of this work rests entirely on the word of Monsieur Leopold Collins, bookseller in Paris: this gentleman informs the public, who he conceives will suspect that he has only attributed it to a descendant of the great Condè merely to excite their interest or their curiosity, that he is in possession of two manuscripts, one entirely written by the hand of the author, the other a copy with corrections by the same author: these manuscripts may be inspected by any one, who will take the trouble to call upon him.

A few years ago Mr. Ireland was in possession of Shakepearian manuscripts, and published the same advertisement to a doubting public. Some few believed them authentic, more doubted, and an assemblage of critics at the theatre royal Drury Lane, at length compelled the author to acknowledge the forgery. If it were easy for Mr. Ireland to counterfeit the hand writing of Shakespeare, so long dead, how much easier must it be for Mr. Collins to imitate that of Louis Joseph de Bourbon Condè? How Mons. C. came in possession of the manuscripts, he carefully conceals; but prudently adds that it seems to have been composed about forty years ago. So much for the authenticity of this volume. We will now briefly state our opinions respecting its merits and defects. In writing the memoirs of a celebrated character, a principal object of the author should be to introduce us

to his retirement, to let us behold him in the midst of his family, in those moments when every restraint is removed, and the man ceases to act for public admiration and applause. It is in this respect that Boswell's life of Johnson, notwithstanding its many faults, is read with such delight. The character of his hero is so faithfully pourtrayed, that we fancy ourselves in his company, and almost see every distortion of his unwieldy body, when he is angry, and enjoy whatever affords him pleasure. But it is not so with the hero Condè: when the battle is prepared, and the victory gained, then Condè vanishes till the next opportunity occurs of introducing him on the stage; where the same routine is gone through, again and again, till the reader becomes nauseated with the *crambe repetita*, and wonders how the author should presume to call it an essay on the life of Condè. To judge from the work before us, the subject of it could never have enjoyed the society of his family; one continued bustle of fighting and political intriguing seems to have formed his sole existence; yet Condè did love retirement, and domestic privacy; but scarcely one anecdote of this nature is to be found to relieve us from the scenes of blood which every page presents to our eyes. As a history of the age in which the great Condè lived, this work is sufficiently entertaining. That part of it which relates to the age of Louis the fourteenth is well written. The striking contrast of the rebellion of Condè against that prince, and his submissive attachment to him afterwards, will be read perhaps with surprise. But it must be observed that he was only the enemy of the government, and not of the king. He successively hated Richelieu and Mazarin, who in turn ruled France like two grand viziers. To military men this may also prove an interesting performance; from the example before them they may learn the art of war, and how to act with advantage in the most difficult circumstances. His character is thus summed up by the author:

'As an eminent warrior, an illustrious prince, an enlightened man, a tender father and faithful friend, Condè united in himself every grand quality, and every honourable sentiment; his character, unique in the annals of the world, would appear fabulous, without reading his history. Rich in talents and in modesty, in greatness and affability, he was at once warlike and sentimental, impetuous and mild, a rebel and a citizen: he loved the sciences and war, agitation and repose, business and pleasure; he inspired at the same time attachment and jealousy, esteem and hatred, interest and fear; and in any point of view in which history presents him, he is always the greatest ornament; he brightens every picture, enriches every detail; he interests, he seduces, he entraps by the eclat which he gives to times, places, actions and men. Frenchmen, princes, war-

riors, cherish with me the memory of this hero; render homage to his genius, imitate his virtues, avoid his errors, and let us congratulate our country for having produced a being whose existence for ever will honour the blood of kings, the list of heroes, and the age of great men.'

ART. VI.—*Versuch einer Prüfing und Verbesserung der ietzt gewohnlichen Behandlungs art des Scharlachfiebers, &c.*

Enquiries as to the best Means of improving the present System of treating Scarlet Fevers, by Dr. Johan Stieglitz, Physician at Hanover. Hanover. 1807.

WHILE the calamities of war were destroying thousands in Germany and Prussia, during the last campaign, an epidemical disease was visiting the cottages of the poor and tranquil inhabitants, and vying with the sword in the number of its victims.

We believe the name of Dr. Stieglitz is known on the continent both as a medical and literary character. He has entered the lists on this occasion, armed in both capacities, and has displayed considerable professional experience, as well as critical sagacity. He maintains that the obstinacy and prevalence of the scarlet fever epidemy were owing to the erroneous treatment commonly resorted to. He details his own practice at considerable length, which is directly the reverse of that hitherto received; he deprecates all adherence to system in the treatment of diseases, and perhaps this trait of novelty alone may invite some of our medical readers to a perusal of the work.

ART. VII.—*System des Assecuranz-und Bodmereiwesens, aus den Geszten & Gebrauchen Hamburghs und der vorzuglichsten, Nationen Europens, &c.*

System of Insurance and Maritime Laws; taken from the Laws and Customs of all the principal Commercial Countries in Europe; intended for the Use of Insurance Brokers, Underwriters, Merchants and Lawyers. By William Benette. 2 vols. 8vo. Hamburgh. 1807.

SEVERAL excellent works of this description are in existence in this country, but we believe they are wholly

confined to the English law of assurance, or at least to that part of the code of the civilians adopted into our maritime laws. M. Benette has taken a wider range, and extended the subject to every trading nation in Europe, a circumstance which of itself must render his work of great value independantly of the fidelity with which he has executed the task. His work contains some sagacious hints for the improvement of the laws of assurance, and states some cases, where their inadequacy to afford any relief to sufferers is very glaring.

ART. VIII.—*Gallerie der National-Prachten in der Stadt Hamburgh.*

Costume of the Citizens of Hamburgh, with a Description of the City, &c. Luneburg. 12*mo.* 1807.

THIS is a splendid although a small work. It contains 25 beautifully coloured drawings of various subjects alluded to in the course of the book. The description, or rather history of Hamburgh is entertaining, although written in a sober German style. The burgher guards of Hamburgh are not treated in the most respectful manner in this performance. These are composed of the citizens, and mount guard by turns in order to preserve the tranquillity of the city during the night; but, like the watchmen of all countries, they are apt to sleep on their posts, and are oftener found smoking and drinking in the watch-houses of Hamburgh than patroling the streets.

ART. IX.—*Gmelin C. C. Flora Badensis Alsatica et confinium Regionum cis-et trans-Rhenana plantas a lacu Bodemico usque ad confluentiam Mosellæ et Rheni sponte nascentes exhibens sec. Syst. sex. c. iconibus. 2 vols.* 8*vo.* Heidelberg.

THIS is a botanical work by the title of a Flora of Germany: the name of Gmelin has been long celebrated as the Linnæus of Germany, and he has added to his laurels by the production now before us. The varied climate of Germany is so favourable to almost every species of vegetation, that it is scarcely possible for one naturalist to describe the products even of a single district. The work of M. Gmelin now before us, is therefore an Herculean labour. And he

has made it a botanical treasure, notwithstanding the disadvantages with which he has had to contend. Indefatigable in his personal researches and assisted by a numerous circle of botanical friends, he has been collecting, during these five and twenty years, whatever was uncommon in the vegetable kingdom among the mountains of the Black Forest, and on the luxuriant banks of the Rhine, from Basle in Switzerland to the confluence of the Neckar and the Rohr. To the description of the plants, observations are added upon the territories where they are indigenous, accompanied with an account of the purposes to which they are applied, and the names of the works in which drawings of them may be found. In these respects M. Gmelin's work comes recommended to the botanist, the geologist and the œconomist, and it is a new proof of German industry and learning.

ART. X.—*Practisch, œconomische, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise, &c.*

Practical and œconomical Observations, made on a Tour through Holstein, Schleswig, Ditmarsen, and Part of the Bremen and Hanoverian Territories to the Elbe. By C. P. Kiesewalter. With Plates. 8vo. Hof. 1807.

THIS is an agricultural work, and the author informs us that he has devoted the greater part of his life, to the pursuit of agricultural knowledge.

After some general descriptions of the soil and products, &c. of Holstein there follows a detailed account of the rotation of crops adopted in this fertile district. A curious fact is mentioned which shows to what extent the science of agriculture has been carried in Europe in the last twenty years. A tract of country which was once so unproductive, as to support only sixty persons, now furnishes food and agricultural employment to three hundred people. Thus, if population be the true riches of any country, it must follow that the cultivation of waste lands, if the system of small farms is adopted, is the best method to increase this description of national prosperity.

The author then proceeds to detail the route he pursued in his travels, and he has evidently taken our countryman Arthur Young's Agricultural Surveys for his models. M. Kiesewalter's style is sprightly and flowing, although he informs his readers that he is more anxious to be celebrated as an agriculturist than as an author.

The work is embellished with drawings of cattle, machinery, &c. all of which have been executed by the author himself, and display much taste and assiduity.

ART. XI.—*Verhandlungen und Schriften der Hamburgischen Gesellchaft, &c.*

Essays and Transactions of the Hamburgh Society for the Encouragement of useful Arts and Sciences, for the Year 1806. *With Plates.* 8vo. Hamburgh. 1807.

THESE transactions are edited by Dr. Meyer of Hamburgh, who in the first paper of the volume, takes a succinct view of the labours of the society, since its first formation, in the year 1800. This memoir contains a faithful detail of the different branches of science, to which the members have directed their attention, and is highly worthy of perusal. One of the most important objects of enquiry with the society during the last year, has produced seven essays. The subject proposed was 'the best plan for the situation and interior arrangement of a prison for criminals and debtors.'—Each of these memoirs is accompanied by a drawing. The next branch of enquiry is on the subject of instituting 'a saving bank or pension chest,' to which the labouring classes of the community are to contribute while in health, and from which they are to receive in return a pension during old age or sickness. The plan of this institution was presented to the society by Baron Voght, and the calculations were made by M. Luis, both of Hamburgh, and their speculations are about to be acted upon. It is somewhat curious that one of the clauses of Mr. Whitbread's poor's relief bill, lately before the house of commons, embraces the very subject above alluded to, and the coincidence is so striking between the two plans that we can hardly attribute it to chance. The volume now before us concludes with instructions and directions addressed to the lower classes as to their diet, health, &c. and contains some strong injunctions upon them to attend to the education of their children.

ART. XII.—*Les quatre Fondateurs des Dynasties Françaises, &c.*

The four Founders of the French Dynasties, or the History of the Establishment of the French Monarchy by Clovis; of the Renewal of the Royal Dynasties by Pepin and Hugh

Capet; and of the Foundation of the French Empire by Napoleon the Great; adorned with Portraits of the four Sovereigns, and an allegorical Frontispiece. By Dubroca. 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Dulau.

THE supreme power in France, without including the transient period of the republic, has passed into the hands of four different families in the space of about 1400 years. The first regular dynasty was established by Clovis towards the conclusion of the fifth century; when the mighty power of the Roman empire had dwindled into an empty name; this was succeeded by the dynasty of Pepin in 752, whose descendants yielded the crown to the house of Capet in 987, and this illustrious family, after having exercised the kingly power in France for about 800 years, has finally been replaced by a new dynasty in the person of Napoleon the Great. The Francks, whose origin is lost in the night of ages, but who had long fixed their habitations in Germany, had made a successful irruption into Gaul in the time of Childeric, but they did not obtain any permanent establishments in that country till the time of his son. Under the auspices of Clovis, the Francks made themselves masters of the finest provinces; the subjugation of which they rendered so complete, that they altered the manners, the language and the name. Clovis, like most of the founders of empires, was distinguished by abilities, which raised him above the level of his contemporaries, but which he unfortunately could not transmit along with the inheritance of his dominion to his successors. He possessed strength of character, depth of policy, fertility in expedients, and a facility in overcoming obstacles or making them assume the peculiar form of his political innovations.

At the age of fifteen Clovis had succeeded to the crown of his father; and at the age of twenty, he left the Hercynian forest with his cloud of warriors, passed the Rhine, and sent a challenge to Siagrius the Roman governor, who had assumed the title of king, and fixed his capital at Soissons. Under the walls of that city he prepared to meet the enterprizing foe. A battle was fought which decided the fate of Gaul; the Romans after an obstinate resistance were entirely defeated; Siagrius was obliged to abandon his dominions to the conqueror, and to seek an asylum in the country of Alaric the king of the Visigoths, who then kept his court at Toulouse. Clovis sent a message to Alaric, desiring him to give up his prisoner, or menacing him with his resentment. The Visigoth complied with a request which

he had not courage to refuse. Siagrius was given up; Clovis kept him for some time in prison; and afterwards cut off his head. On this occasion the author remarks that the measures of the founders of empires require an exertion of rigour beyond what is requisite in those whose power has been long established, and who have no rivals to fear.

'What would be a crime, a violation of justice in the one becomes a sad necessity in the other. What consideration, in fact, can be put in competition with the dangers which menace an empire on the establishment of a new dynasty, when factions are fomented by the intrigues of ambition, and the opposite pretensions of aspiring chiefs?'

An allusion is here evidently made to, and an exculpation intended for, some of the atrocious acts by which Buonaparte has endeavoured to get rid of those whom he had most cause to hate or fear. But the extenuation which is attempted amounts to no more than this, that when a man has once got possession of the supreme power, there is no tie, however sacred, which he may not violate to preserve it.

We have often heard it asserted, and never without dissatisfaction and regret, that those precepts of justice which ought to be inviolably observed in the intercourse of individuals, may be without any dishonour disregarded in the measures of states. But, if we may be allowed to have any knowledge of the relative ties of moral obligation, we must assert that the duty of a strict adherence to those ties is even more incumbent on nations than on individuals. For the importance of duty, as far as it can be made a matter of moral appreciation, must be considered as greater or less in proportion to the quantity of happiness or misery which the observance or the violation may produce. And if the practice of vice or virtue on a large scale be productive of greater happiness or misery than on a small, we cannot but think that no state can deviate from the great principles of moral duty, without deserving aggravated censure and incurring accumulated guilt. We must likewise consider that the measures of states are in fact the measures of individuals; and though the moral responsibility may seem to be distributed among many, it is in fact concentrated in a few. For though many may be mechanically concerned in the execution, yet the scheme is projected and ordered by a few. When a king or his ministers command an innocent man to be put to death, or a city or a province to be pillaged or destroyed, they must be considered as alone implicated in the guilt of all the murders and assassinations, the pillage and destruction which they counsel or direct.

After the murder of Siagrius, Clovis, who killed Alaric in single combat in sight of the two armies, put an end to the reign of the Visigoths in Gaul. He afterwards married Clotilda, a niece of Gundebad king of Burgundy, who was successful in persuading her husband to embrace the religion of the cross. This event had a powerful influence in reconciling the Gauls to the new dynasty of Clovis and the conquests of the Francks. The government of the Francks did not experience under Clovis any alteration in its essential principles. The nation itself, which was always jealous of its liberty, and formed a republic of which the prince was only the chief magistrate, reigned in a mass over the different inhabitants of the conquered country. Assemblies were still held in the field of Mars; the nobles continued to form the council of the prince; and the cities of Gaul were put on the same footing as the villages of Germany; the names of duke and count, who were at once military and judicial chiefs, were substituted for the ancient *grafions*. The revenue of the prince consisted of his domains, of the free gifts which his subjects presented to him when they assembled in the field of Mars, and of the fines and confiscations which were awarded by the law. The customs, quit-rents, capitulations and diversity of imposts which the avarice or the pride of the emperors had exacted from the Gauls were suffered to pass into oblivion under the government of the Francks. The judicial administration of Clovis was far superior to that to which the Gauls had been accustomed under the emperors. The dukes or counts, who distributed justice in different districts, could not pronounce sentence without taking seven assessors from among the respectable inhabitants of the province where the person resided against whom the action lay. The Gauls were thus constituted their own judges; and it was their own fault if justice became as venal as it had been under the government of the emperors. Most of the customs which the Francks had imported from Germany, were erected into laws. The *Salic* law was established, which has been wisely preserved amid all the changes which have happened in the political government of France. Some humiliating distinctions were made between the victors and the vanquished, but the rigor of these was softened by the beneficent institutions of the prince. The Gauls as well as the other subjects were deemed eligible to the different offices of the state; and a Gaul might obtain all the privileges of a Franck by renouncing the Roman to live under the Salic law.

The conduct of Clovis with respect to religion shews him to have possessed a mind enlightened far above the level of his contemporaries. Ten years elapsed between his

entry into Gaul and his conversion to christianity; and yet in this interval not one instance is recorded of his having offered any violence or contempt to the catholic worship of the vanquished Gauls. The religion which he disapproved as an individual he protected as the head of the government; and in an age of ignorance and barbarism the wisdom of the prince promoted the spirit of toleration among the partizans of paganism and of christianity. When the religious opinions of Clovis underwent a change, his political principles continued the same. When Constantine became a convert to Christianity, he became the persecutor of the idolatrous errors which he had relinquished. But Clovis embraced the precepts of christianity only to evince a greater degree of moderation. The excess of his zeal did not blast the fruits of his conversion. The tolerant principles of Clovis were strongly evinced on the conquest of the Visigoths. This people professed arianism, but not without persecuting those of an opposite opinion. But when Clovis became master of the dominions of Alaric, he established what was called the orthodox faith, but without offering any violence to the professors of the arian creed. The descendants of Clovis possessed none of the virtues by which he had been characterised. Their cruelty alienated the affections of the people, and their impotence excited their contempt. The loss of their authority and respect, facilitated the usurpation of some enterprising individual; the mayors of the palace, who had originally been only the chief domestics of the sovereign, by degrees contrived to engross all the power and functions of the government, till Childeric, the last feeble successor of Clovis, was banished for life into a monastery, and Pepin, who was more worthy to wear a crown, was elevated to the throne. This second royal dynasty in France commenced in 752. Clovis laid the first foundation of the French monarchy; but the institutions of Pepin tended most to consolidate the edifice. Under the dynasty of Clovis, the kingdom on the death of the sovereign was divided into as many shares as there were male issue of the late prince. The Francks had introduced this custom from Germany. After the accession of Pepin the throne was made hereditary in his family, but elective with respect to the prince who was to reign. Charles or Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, signalised his reign with many splendid atchievements, which have caused his name to be ranked among the most glorious in history. He reduced the Saxons, who, on the death of Pepin, had shaken off the yoke of France. He afterwards passed the Alps, annihilated the sovereignty of the Lombards, and caused himself to be declared king of Italy; and in a later period of his reign

the grateful admiration of the Roman people revived in his person the title of *emperor of the west*, which had been abolished for three centuries. The pope placed the crown of the Cæsars on his head on Christmas day in the year 800, invested him with the purple, and did homage at his feet. At Rome he exercises the plenary rights of sovereignty; sits in judgment on the pope, and reserves to himself the right of confirming the choice of his successors. The emperor of Constantinople acknowledged him for his colleague, and ceded to him the greater part of Italy; the Saracens of the Pyrenees consented to be his tributaries; the caliph sent him presents and testimonies of admiration. In short, the forty-six years reign of this prince was a continued succession of victorious exploit and prosperous enterprize, which extended his dominion from the Baltic to the Ebro, and from the Tiber to the Atlantic. The first care of Charlemagne was to establish the reign of the laws, and in order to procure for them a more ready obedience he took care that the people themselves should have a will in the formation. He accordingly perfected the salutary reform in the states general which Pepin had begun. He ordered that that body should be assembled twice in the year, in the beginning of the spring and at the end of the autumn. In the assemblies of the people which were held under the first successors of Clovis, every free man who lived under the Salic law had the privilege of attending them. But in order to prevent these meetings from becoming too numerous and disorderly, Charlemagne decreed that every district should send twelve deputies chosen from among the more respectable proprietors. The assembly consisted of the nobility, the clergy, and representatives of the people; these three orders sometimes met in separate chambers, and sometimes united in one body for the purpose of consultation, or of more closely identifying their particular interest with the general good. The emperor himself never interposed in their deliberations except when he was invited to act as a mediator in their disputes, or to give his assent to the laws which they had passed. Thus in the days of Charlemagne the law of the French was the will of the people published in the name of the prince. Happy would it have been for the sovereigns who afterwards swayed the crown of France, if they had never abolished those institutions which his wisdom had planned, or those barriers which custom, taking the direction of the public good, had erected as the best safeguard for the liberties of the people.

The dynasty which Pepin had established, and which the genius of Charlemagne conspired to render permanent, lasted little more than 200 years; when the elevation of Hugh Capet, a simple vassal of the crown, to the royal dignity, put an end to the sway of the Carlovingian kings. This was the commencement of a new dynasty, which begun in 987, and continued till the year 1793, when Louis XVI. was obliged to bow his neck under the axe of the guillotine. From Hugh Capet to Louis XVI. we have a succession of 31 monarchs in the space of about eight hundred years. In this catalogue of kings we find a strange combination of virtue and of vice, of talent and of incapacity; but the crimes of all, whatever might be their crimes, seem to have been visited on the most harmless of the race. Louis abounded in good intentions; but he wanted constancy in carrying them into effect. He suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose by the intrigues of the corrupt and interested persons who surrounded him; and the fatal imbecility of his character furnished his enemies with the readiest means of his destruction. The impolitic and dastardly flight of his relations, his courtiers and noblesse, who had revelled in the sunshine of his power, precipitated his fall; and the unfortunate monarch was left without a friend in his distress.

There is an unfortunate resemblance between the last kings of each of the French dynasties; Childeric III. the last king of the first race, was dethroned, shorn and shut up in a monastery for life. Louis V. the last king of the second dynasty, after a reign of one year, was poisoned by his wife; Louis XVI. the last monarch of the third, terminated his life upon a scaffold. The first was remarkable for his apathy, the second for his fanaticism, and the last owed his misfortunes to the impotent inconsistency of his character. All three could enumerate ancestors of transcendant ability and heroic worth; but all three had degenerated from the examples before them, and sunk into contempt. Will the successors of the ruling dynasty profit by the lesson? will they consider that the want of personal virtue in the sovereign must finally endanger the safety of the empire?

We can hardly be surprised that a republican form of government was of such short continuance in France, when we consider that it was founded on the monarchical institutions of thirteen centuries; and that though the minds of a few speculative men were in favour of the experiment, all the practical habits, the sentiments, the hereditary and the acquired prepossessions of the nation, were decidedly against it. The people in general were too much attached to the visible representation of the monarchy, to be susceptible of

an opposite impression. A momentary enthusiasm in favour of republican institutions was kindled in the country; but when the novelty ceased to interest, and the factions to which it gave birth began the career of their enormities, the delusive flame expired, and the whole nation, like a man recovering from a state of maniacal hallucination, began to resume the tone and gesture of their former moderation, and to bend once more under the pleasureable sway of their ancient propensities and pursuits. There is a great difference between a republican government, which takes its rise with the commencement of a people, which is genial to their early habits and opinions, and one which is placed on a basis of monarchical forms, whose influence has been entwined more or less with all the habitudes of social life, and which have produced ages of prosperity and renown.

In 1805, France ceased to be, even nominally, a republic; and Bonaparte was honoured with the title of emperor of the French. It is not to be wondered at that the people of France, after having been agitated by factions and torn by discord for so many years, should be happy to find a haven of peace and a protection from storms in the re-establishment of hereditary power. The death of Bonaparte only can shew whether this dynasty contain in it any of the principles of permanence; or whether, instead of being fixed on a firm foundation, on the interest and affections of the people, it rests only on the splendour of his success and the terror of his name

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ART. XIII.—*De la Vertu, &c.*

On Virtue; by Sylvain Maréchal, Author of the Dictionary of Atheists; preceded by a Biographical Account of the Writer, and followed by 'a Book for all Ages;' with a Portrait of the Author. Paris: 8vo. 1807. London: imported by Dulau, Soho-Square.

SYLVAIN Maréchal was born at Paris on the 15th of August, 1750. His father wished to make him a merchant, but the opposition of the son caused him to change his resolution. His youth was studious, and but little mingled with the habit of dissipation. Plutarch and Montaigne were his favourite authors. This sort of reading tended to impart force and energy to his sentiments and his character. At the age of 19 he was made librarian to the college of '*Les quatre nations.*' This situation was favourable to his literary pursuits. Long after the doors of the library were shut against the public, he remained there alone, vigorously employed in the improvement of his mind.

Though he possessed depth of reflection, yet he was fond of trifling in verse, and some of his trifles are remarkable for the elegance of the execution. His 'Dictionary of Love' is written in the taste of Anacreon. The following is a paragraph of the preliminary discourse:

'The universe is constituted of love. From the largest of the stars to the minutest atoms of the earth, all is love. Numerous satellites attend on the queen of night, who, herself, but not without rivals, worships the king of day: by a perpetual attraction, the father of light loves and fecundates the earth; this common mother embraces in her bosom the humid element: the air is the lover of the flame, which in his absence dies. All is love, even amid the inanimate creation.'

All his writings are without any licentious taint; they had indeed more reserve, than seemed suited, to the taste of the times. He used often to say,

'Youthful fair, let modesty accompany all your actions; mystery is to love what modesty is to beauty. Remember that in order to preserve happiness, lovers should live like husbands, and husbands like lovers.'—'Far from us,' says he in the same work, 'be those beings who debase love, a sentiment too elevated for their narrow souls; who commit its dignity by their brutal pleasantries, degrade it by their obscenities, and make us doubt the species to which they belong.'

Sylvain Maréchal was once harassed by the importunate calculations of a mathematician, till his patience was exhausted, and he exclaimed, 'I am acquainted with nothing but the arithmetic of love; with love I willingly practice addition; I multiply as much as I can; I divide too often; but I am not willing to subtract.' When he was once reproached by a friend for not putting his name to his works, he said, 'we should live unknown, if we wish to live happy.' In his Dictionary of Love, and his Anacreontic odes, he never mingled any thing which could excite a pernicious delirium of the senses. The former work bears testimony to the purity of his heart, and the depth of his erudition. Though he seemed fond of toying with Venus and the Muse, yet that his thoughts were not without a serious cast, he evinced in a volume of psalms which he published in 1734. The 14th psalm in this publication, strongly manifests his love for that mediocrity, which appeared to constitute the *ideal-beautiful* of his wellregulated mind:

'1. O Lord, preserve me in the sweet mediocrity in which thy

goodness has placed me. 2.If I have any merit in thy eyes, I owe it to the obscurity in which I was born. 3.Opulence dries up the virtues of the soul,renders the mind empty, and the body weak. 4.Happy the child whose cradle is not suspended to the branches of the lofty oak. 5.Happy he who sleeps under the cottage-roof! he will not awake on the brink of a precipice. 6.Happy is he who is content with being just in thy sight! and who is not a suitor for the eyes of the multitude. 7. Happy he who travels on without praise, and disputes not a step in the way of life. 8. In mediocrity we escape envy. 9. And what avail the applauses of the world, if we have not the suffrage of one's own heart?'

The works in which he displayed most energy, are in stanzas or in precepts. We must except his 'French Lucretius,' which is a masterpiece of poetry and erudition. In all his works he announces his predilection for the country, and his aversion for the town. In one of his psalms he says,

'I have clambered to the top of a rock, as old as the soil on which it rests. There I see the sun long before it is day to my fellow-creatures, and I do not lose sight of it till long after it has disappeared to them. There I feel myself nearer to the God of nature. There I am impressed with a reverence which I never felt before. What is art and all its magic when compared with nature?'

But though Sylvain Maréchal professed such a warm attachment to rural scenery and retirement, he appears to have passed the greater part of his life in the capital of Paris. But, as happens with the majority, his situation was probably at variance with his predominant propensities. In 1792, he received the hand and the heart of Madamoiselle Despres, whose virtues he had sung for eleven years, and he carried his attachment with him to the grave. On the epoch of his marriage, he left the centre to reside in the suburbs of Paris; and took with him 'his household gods, his father, his wife, and his father-in-law.' It was his constant practice to rise with the dawn. In summer, he was no sooner up than he took a few turns in his garden, without his hat, where he saluted his favourite star of day. He then returned to his study and read or wrote till it was time to repair to the library, from which he was never absent during a period of thirty years. His 'French Lucretius' was published without a name. His '*Voyage of Pythagoras*' is an interesting work, which is founded on the basis of history. After this appeared his '*Universal History*,' written in the lapidary style; which gives a concise, simple, and perspicuous account of all the memorable occurrences which

have varied the annals of the world. The method which he adopted exempted him from the necessity of inserting any unimportant details. He thus briefly paints the resolution of Cotta and of Atticus:

'They forgot the dissentions of the state,
In the bosom of philosophy.'

In speaking of Moses, he says,

'Moses appeared;
And his genius,
More powerful than that of Sesostris,
Left an impression
Which time could not efface.
He created
A people and a religion
Which still engage the attention of mankind.'

His next work was a 'Dictionary of Atheists.' This must have cost him much labour and great research. It is written without any spirit of party or any intolerance of opinion. These important works did not, prevent other occupations. He undertook a Description of the antiquities of Herculaneum; and the artist with whom he was united in the publication, had never any occasion to complain of his delay. Labour constituted his pleasure; and in labour he employed fifteen hours out of the twenty-four. In his meals he was frugal and abstemious; he lived chiefly on vegetables, milk, and fruits. He was not fond of making long journies; 'the wise man,' said he, 'keeps at home; and if he wishes to learn, he has only to consult the great book of nature, which is every where the same.' When invited to become a member of many literary societies, he used to say, 'I have sworn to avoid all large meetings; and I think with Plutarch, that in order to be happy, the number of our society should not be less than that of the graces, nor more than that of the muses.' When Chateaubriant published his Atala, Maréchal produced, by way of corrective, a work intituled '*Pour et contre la Bible*;' in which, while he extolled the beauties of Genesis, and those of several of the prophets, he expressed a wish that 'the genuine morality of the book were separated from the cruel butcheries, the spurious predictions, and the numerous absurdities.' One day, when the company were enumerating the different religions which prevail in the world, Maréchal held his tongue, till one of those who were present? asked if they had named them all. He answered '*I am acquainted only with the religion of vir-*

tue.' He was not contented with merely preaching toleration, he made it the guide of his sentiments and the rule of his life. There was a time when Maréchal might have risen to distinction and opulence, but his love of mediocrity suppressed the flame of ambition and avarice. 'The wise man,' said he, 'is not often poor, but is less often rich.'—'If you wish to be happy, hide your lamp under a bushel, and be only a spectator of the great drama of life.' Maréchal seems to have had no great liking for those who were priests by profession. He said that the gospel was the best of all religious codes, and that we ought not to spoil it by superfluous additions. But in the gospel the sagacity of Maréchal was wont to affirm that he could neither discover the institution of parsons, nor the rite of sacerdotal ordination. As far as respects social worship, this text was his favourite authority; 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'—'Why,' said Maréchal, cannot man address his Maker without the intervention of a priest?' One day when he was looking over some engravings, with a friend, there was one which forcibly interested his attention: it was a devout family, from a picture of Grëuse. 'See,' said Maréchal to his friend, 'this good father of a family resting his arms on the table, and explaining the bible to his children, who are assembled around him. Well put a square cap on the gray hairs of the old man, tie a band under his chin, and cover him with all the paraphernalia of a priest; the charm of this domestic scene is dissolved, and a ludicrous effect is given to the piece.' Maréchal had not adopted a sombre or gloomy view of life.

'Happiness' said he 'is always in our power; it is in vain that we dispute about its nature, or deny its possibility; we are all born to experience the sensation. Let us shut our books, abandon our speculations, resist our vitiated propensities, and follow only those of nature; let us be men, let us be just, let us make our fellow-creatures happy, which is the only way of being so ourselves. But where is the man who is wise enough to follow this advice? We are like children, who, on seeing a bubble of soapsuds, abandon their books to admire these nothings, which nothing produced, which nothing preserves, and which nothing will destroy.'

Maréchal was highly delighted when he received accounts of the progress which public instruction was making in France:

'There is not a man nor a piece of ground,' said he,' which is not susceptible of cultivation.'

The unintermitting intensity of intellectual exertion seems

prematurely to have destroyed the physical frame of Maréchal He died on the 18th of January 1803. He retained his faculties till the last; and he delivered some very sententious lines in blank verse only a few hours before he expired. We will extract a few:

'Aime a vivre, sur-tout seulement pour bièn vivre.'

'Trois jours suspend ta hache avant d'abattre un arbre.'

'Que ton petit manoir ait un large foyer.'

'Aux souvenirs des morts consacre quelques nuits.'

'Qu'un gazon offre un siége a coté de ta porte.'

'Ne retiens pas captifs les oiseaux voyageurs.'

'Ne fais point égorger tes poulets par ta fille.'

'N'egorge point l'agneau sus l'œil de tes enfans.'

The 'Treatise on Virtue,' which we find in this volume, contains many judicious remarks and many elevated sentiments. The principal defect is, that it is too much taken up with generalities; that though the author talks much of virtue, he does not distribute it into the particular duties which are included in the comprehensive term. This makes the picture rather confused and destitute of interest. The tone of the remarks is chiefly of the sombre kind, and evinces a mind more prone to despondency than hope. Such is usually the sensitive temperament of those who have seen much and reflected more. We will translate one or two short passages from this work:

'The property of virtue is to act from emotion, from sentiment. Alas! for the woman who is modest only from reflection, and who shuts her eyes only when she is sure of being seen. It is to be feared that she will throw off all restraint when she thinks herself alone. We may say the same of virtue. How cold will the applauses of a whole assembly appear to him who has done a good action, if he compares them with that which passes in his own heart! But it will be said that the tribute of public praise is less a remuneration than an encouragement, a stimulant. We should answer, that the fruits of virtue supply their own seasoning. Glory is not always a mantle capable of resisting the injuries of time. The lustre of virtue passes less rapidly away.'

'In the calm of their passions, some women form resolutions of virtue, from which they promise much; but they are frail barriers which love overturns with the least flutter of his wing.'—'Young man! prolong the peaceful season of your innocence, for soon will come the stormy season of virtue. Innocence is a fresh morning in spring, virtue a burning day in summer. Young man! take a wife from the hands of a virtuous man; he knows the woman whom you want.

Young man! pass the night before your nuptials in the mantle of the sage. Young man! learn virtue only in the book of your conscience, and in the eyes of your father. Young man! mark how the hawthorn sheds a mild lustre on the bush on which it flowers. It is the same with virtue in the midst of the sufferings of life.'

In the 'Book for all Ages,' we find a variety of short essays on some subjects of general utility and interest, to each of which is affixed a quatrain in French verse. From this we shall make no extracts; but believe that there are few readers who may not profit by the perusal.

ART. XIV.—*L'Observateur en Pologne.*

The Observer in Poland, by Hubert Vautrin, of the Academy of Nancy. Paris. 8*vo.* 1807. London: imported by Dulau, Soho-square.

THIS is a picture of Poland as it existed previous to those revolutions which destroyed its political existence. It was written by a person who resided many years in the country, and who had studied with no common attention the manners and the history of the people. The author has varied his details by digressions on points of history, of morality, and policy. His observations in general relate to the nature, the soil, the climate, the productions of the country; its arts, its manners, its government, and religion. Of these topics some may seem to have been rendered obsolete by the political changes which the Polish provinces have undergone. But the effects of foreign conquest or of domestic usurpation cannot alter the soil, the climate, or the productions of a country; and even the arts, the manners, and religion, cannot very suddenly be rendered very different from what they were before. The soil of Poland was portioned out among the sovereigns of Berlin, of Vienna, and of Petersburgh; but the treaty of Tilsit has lately created the provinces which were ceded to Prussia into the duchy of Warsaw. Notwithstanding these transfers of political possession, we believe that most of the remarks of M. Vautrin will be found in general as applicable to the present state of Poland as they were to the past.

Poland, *as it once was*, comprehended a tract of country almost equal to that of modern France. This extent of surface is so destitute of any considerable elevations, that a person who was raised in a balloon to the height of about forty feet, might pass a plane over the whole, without any appre-

hension of striking against any mountain of nature or edifice of art. In such a situation we might command a view of the largest plain in Europe, which is bounded to the south by heights which rise insensibly into the Carpathian mountains, and to the north by the Baltic sea; but to the west it is diffused as far as the German ocean; and to the east it is lost in Asia and the Euxine. When we saw the two seas of the north and the south almost on a level with this vast horizon, should we not be inclined to believe that they formerly covered the intermediate space, and that the Baltic mingled its waves with those of the Black sea and the Euxine? Celsius calculated that the Baltic sea sinks four feet five inches in the course of a century; if it formerly sunk in the same proportion, we may be assured that the greater part of Poland was under water twenty centuries ago. This conjecture is favoured by the anchors and other marks of navigation which are occasionally discovered in the Polish plains, at no great distance from the surface of the earth. The plains are almost all on a level with the rivers, so that it would be easy to cut a canal from one sea to another without the intervention of a sluice. Indeed, the author of this work says, 'the country is so flat, that the inhabitants have no terms in their language to signify climb, descend, mountain, slope, hill, valley, dell; all these ideas are represented by two words garà, dòl, high and low.' How many of the characteristic features of any country, considered both in a physical and moral view, may be learned from the idiom and phraseology of the language!

The surface of Poland is for the most part covered with a very white sand or sort of pulverised quartz, so pure as hardly to present any heterogeneous particles; every grain viewed close, is as clear as crystal. The inferior strata of soil are but little known, for deep excavations are impossible on account of the water which is found at a small distance from the surface. Thus wells are everywhere easily dug; this is a considerable advantage in a country in which there are few springs, and no stones fit for the construction of deep wells. Stones are extremely rare in Poland, particularly of the calcareous kind; we may traverse many leagues without finding a flint. Flints are indeed seen here and there in small pieces scattered in the sand and clay. There are some districts of small extent in which they abound; but what is most remarkable, we find dispersed at considerable distances in different parts of this vast plain, masses of granite, which seem to have fallen from the clouds, for we behold in the vicinity neither rocks nor mountains from which they could have been detached. Some are round, others in blocks of varied bulk, most have the colour of granite, veined with streaks of white. These masses are all on the surface, and

sunk to so small a depth in the earth that they seem to have been recently deposited. If Poland had not emerged from the waters at a more recent period than other parts of the earth, these stones would have been buried at least in part. It is evident that they have not been formed on the place where they are found, and they appear to have a common origin, for which we should in vain search in the country, but which we might discover in the mountains of Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia; which presenting, by their union, a barrier to the northern ocean, have scattered their wrecks to more than 200 leagues from their chains. It is not easy to conceive, in a shallow sea, a progressive motion capable of carrying to such great distances, on a horizontal plain, pieces of rock of from ten to twenty cubic feet.

The most celebrated mines in Poland, as well as the most useful, are those of Bochnia and Wieliczka, which furnish annually about two hundred thousand quintals of fossil salt. The whole consumption of Europe could not readily exhaust the stock. They were discovered in the thirteenth century. The mines have been explored to the depth of nine hundred and sixty feet, or eight hundred below the level of the Vistula, without having reached the bottom of the mineral. The salt is crystallized in layers; the first layer contains blocks of a prodigious size; the second, alternate strata of salt perfectly crystallized, and of rocks composed of beds of different stones, marbles or lava, flints, shells, marine substances, and branches of trees. Since the first working of these mines, spaces have been excavated large enough to contain many thousand men; they serve for magazines of salt, and for stables for eighty horses which are constantly kept there. In these subterraneous places we meet with chapels, divers architectural ornaments as statues, columns, a pulpit, &c. all of salt. The state of these mines is an incontestible monument of the former submersion of the country under the waters of the sea; it proves that fossil salt is a product of the ocean. These stones, marine substances, and trees, could not penetrate the masses of salt, except while they were in a fluid state. The sea, having retired, probably left in the situation of these mines an immense and deep lake, of which the successive evaporation, caused by the heat of the atmosphere and the vicinage of volcanoes (whose existence is attested by the sulphur and lava which are found near the mines), formed beds of salt; while the volcanoes precipitated rocks, stones, and trees, into the lake. The sea afterwards, by some extraordinary motion occasioned by some volcanic eruptions, again poured its waters into the evaporated basin, and furnished matter for new layers of salt; till, having finally retired to a considerable distance, it left to plants, and

to the elements, the charge of covering the mine. The author does not think it necessary to recur to successive allusions to explain this vast depôt of salt; the slow evaporation of the waters is sufficient for the purpose. The mines of Wieliczka took fire in 1648, which kept burning for two years.

The water every where stagnates; the small declivity of the surface almost denies a current to the melted snow and rain, which accumulate in particular places, where they are preserved less from the want of industry in the inhabitants, than from the uniform level of the soil. We can seldom go a league without meeting with a morass, which is not indeed deep, but sufficiently extended to impede the traveller in his route. These masses of water, though they often terminate in rivers, have not on that account more rapidity of motion, nor less expanse of surface; the surface is indeed so tranquil, that it is covered with plants, which spread a thick web of verdure over the water. In the south where the greater inequality of surface should seem to afford a more ready passage for the waters, lakes are nevertheless more common, and marshes not less numerous. The hills in that part form inclosures or pits, in which the waters are confined to a great height; and the hand of man does nothing to procure their discharge. Thus the rains, after having furnished a refreshing moisture to the earth, instead of retiring into brooks and rivers, like the blood into the veins, are seen to languish in motionless stagnation. In the spring, when the snows, which are always in considerable quantity, are dissolved, Poland is converted into a sea; travelling is rendered impracticable, and myriads of insects are generated in the humid air. Lithuania, which is the flattest province, has also the largest and most frequent morasses, which formerly served this country as a barrier against the inroads of Russia. The uncommon number of morasses would seem to be prejudicial to the salubrity of the atmosphere; but the author tells us that he witnessed but two epidemics in Poland in the space of seven years, which he was far from ascribing to the noxious qualities of the air. For four years he lived in the centre of a morass which was more than 12,000 yards wide and of an indefinite length; the greater part of it was dried during the summer, without causing any offensive exhalations. The water which was left was quite transparent, and formed a beverage not less agreeable than that from the wells. This transparency is owing to its being filtered through sand, and the salubrity to the nature of the vessel, which does not suffer the recrement of any putrescent vegetables to pass.

The numerous marshes alter by degrees the face of the

country; the immense quantity of reeds, lilies, and plants, with which they are covered, and which they renew every year, is highly advantageous to the soil, which is elevated in time to a level with the adjacent lands; then it is forsaken by the waters which exert their fecundating force in some other place. The space which they abandon is covered with grass, and grazed with cattle till it gradually becomes dry enough for the operations of the plough. The woods are often situated in whole or in part on a morass; which, in a dry summer, often proves the cause of their destruction. The peasant, or the traveller who stands in need of a fire, perhaps kindles the dry turf, which burns like touchwood; the flames catch the roots and trees, and if the winds assist in the conflagration, the whole forest is exposed to the devouring element. The author during his residence in Poland constantly witnessed these kinds of fires, from the beginning of June till the commencement of the wet season at the end of September.

The ordinary fermentation of vegetable matter, and the heats of the summer, disengage from the land, the lakes and morasses, a quantity of inflammable air, which ascends into the atmosphere, combines with it, occupies the region suited to its specific levity, and furnishes aliment to the thunder and lightning. The storms are most frequent and most formidable in the spring: the soil of an extreme tenuity, having lost its slender tenacity from the united effects of the frost and the thaw, and not yet invested with the ornaments of the summer, imbibes a sudden excess of heat from the accumulated fervors of the sun, which no mountains intervene to obscure, gives out in abundance the gas which it includes, and which escapes into the region of the thunder, to alarm the Pole, to awaken his superstition, and ravage his domain. The autumn, which divests the surface of the earth of a part of its productions, is also agitated with tempests. In the summer they are more rare, because the gas is then absorbed by the plants. The winds of the spring commonly rise and set with the sun; they never blow in squalls, because they have to encounter no obstructions in their way. However dry or burning they may be, they cause no cracks in the earth, owing to the small degree of its tenacity. Its comparative levity renders it more susceptible of heat than a more solid soil; for this reason, the first months of summer are hotter in this country than in the south of Europe, but the last are more cold; and if the summer anticipates its coming, it is prematurely shortened by the autumn, because the soil soon parts with the heat which it acquires. The temperature of Poland is subject to constant and excessive variations.

The hottest day is usually succeeded by a night of piercing cold. The fruits of summer are in the morning often seen covered with the frost of winter. The author experienced frost in Poland during every month in the year. A flat country, all other circumstances being the same, will in general be less warm than a country which is varied with mountains; for if the mountains produce shade, they increase the heat by their reflection. We know that the heat of the sun is not sufficient of itself, even under the torrid zone, to melt the snow, and without the reflection of his rays, the winters would never end. A large mass of ice, exposed to the rays of a burning sun, acquires but little sensible heat, and the reflected rays are felt still less. But break the ice in pieces, and dispose the pieces so that the reflection falls on the same point, you will obtain a heat equal to that of the strongest fire. Where the surface of the earth is unequal, the declivities of the hills and the plains which compose it mutually remit the direct and the reflected heat, augment it by numerous points of reflection, break or avert the current of the winds, and save from the chilling influence the heat which the earth has absorbed. In Poland the high winds which prevail in the spring and in the autumn, concur with the tenuity and uniform flatness of the soil, to render the summer short, and the winter long. The winter terrifies by its rigour, and tires by its length. The horizon is a waste of snow during three months in the year, and if it melts another fall soon ensues:

> Nix jacet et jactam nec sol pluviæque resolvunt;
> Indurat Boreas, perpetuamque facit....
> Ergo ubi delicuit nondum prior altera venit. (Ovid. Trist.)

The cold sets in about the autumnal, and retires about a month or six weeks after the vernal equinox. Men and beasts often fall victims to its intensity. For three or four months in one winter, not a day passed without some beggars being frozen to death at Leopol, one of the most southern towns. And even travellers, who are covered with furs and armed with every precaution against the cold, are often arrested on their way by the insuperable rigour of the frozen air, which induces over their frame the sleep of death. A person named Pruszynski was proceeding to Leopol on a sledge drawn by six horses; in the vicinity of the town they missed their way; they called out to the postilion, but he was stiff upon his horse and did not hear; the coachman still held the reins, but had lost his senses and his life. The master appeared asleep, but he was frozen under his pelisse: in short, the whole

party were either dead, or on the verge of death. This unhappy fate principally happens to Jews, valets, and peasants, who are exposed by the unfeeling brutality of their masters to all the rigour of a frozen sky; while themselves, enveloped in the skins of bears, smoke their pipes at their ease round an enormous stove, where they courageously brave the winter's rage, and think not of the ills which they do not feel. In 1493, the Turks had memorable experience of the unsparing severity of the climate; for having pursued the Poles, whom they had beaten into the centre of the country, the frost set in before they could retire, and destroyed more than the sword of the enemy. It is far from uncommon to meet with persons who have been deprived both of nose and ears by the *fiend of frost*. A young traveller alighted on a very cold day at an inn where the author was, when taking out his handkerchief to wipe his nose, he pulled off the tip like a piece of ice. The author says that the company could with great difficulty prevent him from clapping a pistol to his head in a fit of despair, but that they at last succeeded in persuading him, *that it was possible to be happy without a nose.*

The ancients, who had no instrument for measuring the temperature of a climate, were wont to estimate it by its vegetable and animal productions. They had melancholy ideas of a country where the vine never ripened its fruit:

> 'Non hic pampineâ dulcis latet uva sub umbrâ;
> Nec cumulant latos fervida musta lacus:'

or where no apples were seen on the trees, *poma negat regio.* In the spring the Polish fruit trees blossom in lavish abundance, but the blossoms seldom come to fruit, and if the flowers escape the frost, it is sure to kill the fruit. They have some walnuts of an exquisite flavour in the south; and in the north, a species of plum which seems indigenous to the soil. Of the forest trees, the pine, birch and alder are the predominant. Oaks are rare; the plane, which accommodates itself to all climates, flourishes in Poland; but the beech has not yet been planted with success. The maple, linden, elm, and ash, would multiply, if pains were taken to remove the trees which stifle their growth, or make them shoot up into a long stem hardly strong enough to bear the bunch of leave at the top. The box is in this country an exotic shrub, which passes the winter in the green-house. If we except the forests and brushwood, we find neither tree nor bush in the country, nor around the houses of the inhabitants. The spontaneous productions of the earth are seen most in the

marshes or in their vicinity. They have a species of prickly grass which bears a grain that is called *manna*, either from the mode of collecting it, from the form and flavour, or because it is thought to have fallen from heaven like the manna of the Hebrews. It is gathered before sun-rise, in the month of May. They place a sort of sieve or extended net on the spot; and the grains fall into the net with the drops of dew, which are drained off. In Persia the same grain is collected with the same precautions, according to the account of M. Gmelin. In an old poem composed in the year 1500, mention is made of a manna which fell from heaven in the environs of Sibenico, in Croatia. Another poet says of the same town;

> 'Manna solo, Sibenice, tuo, felicibus astris
> Ambrosias tribuit nectareasque dapes.'

The author thinks that this grain is the primitive rice, because, like it, it grows only in humid places. Of the farinaceous grains, they cultivate wheat, rye, buckwheat, oats, barley, millet. The oats are very fine, barley is abundant, wheat is rare, and the buckwheat moderate. The soil possesses little aptitude for the culture of wheat; but the barley, which is sown in the sand, yields an abundant harvest. The sand serves as a filtre for the water, which it receives from the snow and the rain; the heat of the sun pumps the moisture back to the surface, and nourishes the plant. If the summer is dry this resource soon fails, all the crops ripen before their time.

The differences which the climate occasions in the vegetable, are found in the animal kingdom; food and local circumstances impart a variety to the species, or different characteristics to the same genus. The Polish horse is small, thick-chested, and full of fire, even in the greatest extremities of frost. He is obstinate in surmounting obstacles, unwearied in the course, not at all delicate in his food. He is capable of living on the bark of trees; and in winter he acquires, like the fallow deer, a sort of fur which covers his body and his legs with hairs of three or four inches long. A horse not much bigger than his rider will gallop with him for 15 or 20 leagues, and often without the spur or any other encouragement than the cheering whistle of the person on his back, '*Longis cursibus aptus equus*,' said Ovid of the horses of Besserabia. Strabo pays the same compliment to those of Little Tartary. The cattle, like the horse, are of diminutive species. The cows are meagre, small, and give little milk; those which have been trans-

ported from Holland, soon degenerate. Tacitus said of the cattle of Germany, 'nec armentis quidem suus honor et gloria frontis.' Strabo makes the same remark on the oxen of the Crimea, and ascribes the want of horns to the effects of the cold. This remark proves the alteration which has taken place in the climate of the continent, for the oxen of the Ukraine, of Hungary, and even of the northern parts of Tartary, are of a very large breed; nor are they destitute of that glory of forehead which Tacitus seems to have admired. They have no asses in Poland; it is an animal which could not endure the intensity of the cold. The hog resembles the wild boar, with whom he often associates; the dog retains the ferocity of the wolf or the fox; he is very subject to madness, which the natives call *folly*; but it is a folly which they dread as much as death. They bring up great numbers of geese. Though Poland is not destitute of cats, yet they are insufficient to keep down the myriads of rats, who, as if confident in their numbers, seem to defy the hostility of man. While the author was in Poland, this race of marauders gnawed off the scented pigtail of his valet. We may credit the reports of history, that one of the kings of Poland was devoured by rats in an island in the centre of a morass. Roebucks are very common, and without a tail. This animal, which is yellow in summer, turns grey in winter; the squirrel undergoes the same change even when in the house and sheltered from the cold. The wild boar is not often seen; the deer is not common, the stag still less; but there are hares in abundance. Reptiles are very numerous, the vicinity of the morasses attracts and feeds a quantity of serpents, which are so familiar, that the author saw several coiled together on the floor, in an elevated apartment. Frogs and toads necessarily multiply in an aquatic soil; their croaking drowns the music of the birds; and nothing can prevent them from making their way into the houses, where they are very troublesome. Birds which live on insects are numerous; nightingales in particular are heard in abundance; and their note is more melodious than those of France. The waters produce myriads of insects, some of which constitute a sort of plague. The ice and snow are hardly dissolved by the breath of spring, before the air is peopled with clouds of gnats, which lay close siege to the inhabitants from the month of May to that of August, and continue their offensive operations, night and day, within doors and without, against the sensitive skin of man. Their stings cause tumours or ulcerations, according to the temperament of the individual. The most formidable insect which infests the Poles, is the locusts

Clouds of locusts, which darken the atmosphere, at times arise from the south, armed with famine and despair. The scythe does not cut down the harvest with so much celerity as the ravenous mouths of these marauders. After a few hours the most fertile fields are converted into barren wilds; the trees on which they rest, bend beneath the weight. When any sudden fatality overtakes them, the earth is covered above a foot deep with the numbers of their dead; the putrefied mass infects the air, and produces a pest. The prodigious multiplication of these insects would be incredible if it were not proved by incontrovertible facts. At Arles, at Beauceire, and at Tarascon, in France, they once collected 3000 quintals of their eggs, which in the following year would have produced an army of more than five hundred and fifty thousand millions of locusts. From this fact we may form some judgment of what must happen in a country where no precautions are taken to prevent the generation of this destructive scourge.

Nature has not bestowed on Poland any of those picturesque views which interest the sensibility of the painter and the poet. The traveller is not delighted on his way by the agreeable variety of mountains and of vales; no hills, crowned with beautiful foliage, rise from the borders of a meadow enamelled with flowers, where the pleasure of the view is heightened by the aspect of a bubbling silvery stream. The forests, sombre, dreary and wet, excite no delicious reveries; the turf, foul and humid, offers no security of repose; all sentiments of a more agreeable cast are vanquished by the sensations of pain which are inflicted by the stings of insects, the hum of whose swarming myriads alone interrupts the *morne* silence of the woods.

Some writers have exclaimed, *happy is that people who are ignorant of commerce and the arts!* We are of opinion that not only the felicity but the power of a people are proportioned to the extent and vigour of their industry. But commerce and the arts are necessary to give full employment to the active powers of man. The most powerful nation is that which, all other advantages being equal, most favours commerce and the arts; for such a nation is strong not only by the natural force of its mass, but by the multiplied labours of its industry. Tyre and Sidon proved to Asia what infinite advantages commerce and the arts impart to a small number of people over an immensity of idle population. Egypt, confined within its *Delta*, extended its dominion to the Indies. The maritime towns of Greece gave laws to the barbarians of the continent. If it had not been for her domestic factions, Carthage might have extinguished the power of Rome, and

conquered the empire which she yielded to her rival. The commercial republic of Venice might have rivalled the splendor of the Roman empire, if her suspicious government would have permitted her to make soldiers of her citizens and to confer liberty on her slaves. It is to her commerce and her industry that England owes her present preponderance in the affairs of the world. The arts are the measure by which we may calculate the strength of political associations; the more they are extended, the more powerful is the state. In a state, where the arts flourish, and the means of enjoyment are of course numerous and diversified, the dread of privation will combine with the horror of servitude to energize the resistance to foreign domination. In a country where we find no objects of gratification, no comforts or conveniences on the way, where we see every where desolate wastes and stagnant waters, where the course of the rivers is impeded by reeds and filth, where the best land is occupied by forests, where the state of the roads proves that if there are men, there is no industry, no commercial intercourse; where the plains are hardly scratched by the plough, where weeds are more numerous than blades of wholesome grain, where there are rather morasses than meadows; where the hard coarse grass would be fit only for asses, if the climate were not too rigorous for the existence of that animal; where the whole country seems only one wide expanse of overwhelming gloom, where the thinly-scattered villages are buried in the marshes, where there are no gardens, no green nor artificial enclosures; where the towns, which hardly deserve the name, are enveloped in the mud; in such a country we may be certain that the arts are neglected and unknown, that there is neither public spirit nor political consideration. Yet such was the state of Poland when the author wrote; and notwithstanding the transfers of dominion which it has since undergone, such, or not very different, is probably its present state.

The interior of a Polish hovel would shew to how few wants man is subject, and how few things are necessary for their gratification. A room, an oven of earth, a pot, a bowl, some wooden spoons, a hatchet, a knife, a shelf suspended or fixed in the wall, the trunk of a fir-tree cut in the shape of a cone, to pound the grain on which he subsists, a plank of wood on which he kneads his paste, a plough, a pair of oxen, a cow, some hogs, poultry, ducks or geese, these are all the stock and accommodations of a peasant in easy circumstances; his bed is the earth, or the arch of his oven. Free persons may have a little more magnificence; but unless they have ten vassals, their establishment is not superior to that of a vassal. If they have twenty or thirty vassals,

they have usually a couple of rooms, a feather-bed of two feet and a half wide, placed on two planks, and two trussels, surmounted with half a dozen pillows, without canopy or curtains; some pieces of china; a box made of brass or tin, fortified with a padlock, to hold sugar; an earthern stove, a wooden chimney-piece, without poker or tongs; a table covered with a piece of carpetting, some chairs stuffed with hay; walls washed with chalk, decorated with grotesque figures, with paper-hangings or some pieces of silk stuff; a simple plank, and sometimes earth instead of floor; such is the interior of most of the houses, and even palaces; the last have only more extent, more apartments, and more stoves. One stove serves for three or four chambers. Whatever may be the number of the apartments, there are no beds except for the family; the masters themselves have usually only a mattress and many pillows; instead of curtains they make use of a piece of cloth or tapestry in the form of a screen. The stranger who obtains admission into these palaces must carry every thing with him, even to his *pot de nuit*, or resolve to sleep like the early Romans on dry leaves or straw, or between two skins.

Though beer is very common among the Poles, yet the art of brewing seems to be practised principally by the Germans. The preparation of spirituous liquors is in the hands of the Jews. Brandy, procured from grain, is the favourite liquor of the country; from the child to the old man it is in general use: the consumption is prodigious: this coarse brandy forms the basis of the liqueurs of Dantzic, which are so celebrated abroad. The rural economy of Poland is in the lowest state of degradation. 'Our countries,' says Montesquieu, 'are not cultivated in proportion to their fertility but in proportion to their liberty; wherever the cultivator is debased agriculture cannot flourish; it necessarily languishes among a people who are in a state of slavery.' When agriculture is abandoned to slaves, it is sure to produce the ruin of empires; their prosperity depends on the honours which agriculture enjoys. The cultivator who cannot possess property, has no desire of acquiring it; as he does not labour for himself, he has a sort of interest in performing his work ill: the aversion which is natural against a master who forces him to toil, the resentment of the wrongs and insults which he receives, do not operate as encouragements to industry. Man who is treated like a beast, acquires the nature of a beast. While the Polish peasant goads on his oxen before, the club is employed to hasten his steps behind: the horned pair may be obedient to the lash, but the animal by whom it is inflicted is not so easily brought into subjection; he finds

out a thousand ways of frustrating the cruelty of his tyrant; it is absolutely impossible to make him employ any extraordinary exertion; he cannot be led otherwise than he has been used to go. The prescription which regulates the time and the mode of labour, is the only law which slaves acknowledge in their favour, and which even their masters are constrained to reverence. They are in other respects impervious to instruction, and custom supplies the want of understanding. It is not astonishing that with such cultivators all the attempts at agricultural improvement have miscarried.

The origin and progress of the arts and sciences may be traced in the language of a nation. In examining the language of Poland, we find that the natives derived from Germany the terms, and consequently the knowledge of every thing relative to the artificial contrivances, the comforts, and conveniences of social life. From the French they have borrowed their expressions of sentiment, and of the affections relative to the point of honour. According to the Polish annals, letters were unknown until the fourteenth century, when Casimir the Great, the Alfred of Poland, founded the university of Cracow. Letters were known long before they produced any fruit; for it was not till the sixteenth century, in the reign of Sigismond, that they gave any signs of life. Lutheranism and Calvinism, which accompanied the restoration of learning in the west, made great progress in Poland, where the most profound ignorance favoured the multiplication of sects. But it must be remembered, that the first society of Unitarian Christians was founded among the Poles, and that to their teachers, under the name of *Fratres Poloni*, we are indebted for one of the best and most rational expositions of the Christian Scriptures. M. Vautrin well remarks, 'that religion is that bond which attaches citizens to their country, man to his duties, children to their parents, and the human race to God.' According to this explanation, a religious person means one who performs all the relative duties of life. But when, as happens so generally in the world, what is called worship, which is the mere accessory of religion, is substituted for the principal, the word religion, which is clear and definite in itself, is rendered so vague and indistinct, that it has almost as many meanings as there are individuals. Mankind will never be brought to any thing like unity in religion till they learn to despise the vapid ceremonials, and, instead of prostrating themselves in temples made with hands, to worship the great Creator in heart and life, in spirit and in truth.

A taste for philosophy and the sciences has not yet pene-

trated into Poland; but the country may claim the honour of having given birth to Copernicus, who was born at Thorn, and studied at the university of Cracow. The Polish literature is very scanty, except in poetical translations; for which the language is said to be admirably adapted. Horace, Virgil, Ariosto, Tasso, Milton, the Henriade of Voltaire, &c. have already made their appearance in Polish verse. But the country in general is covered with a thick cloud of ignorance; and we no where meet with a mathematician or philosopher. A lady, who had made a collection of natural history, told the author one day that she was uneasy about the fate of her collection. 'My heirs,' said she, 'will never know the value of these things; I am not acquainted with a single individual in the country who cultivates this branch of science; and to make a present of it to the republic, would be only to annihilate the fruit of my labours.'

It is in the number of his household, and the luxuries of his table, that the Polish noble loves to display his wealth. But his domestics, which are very numerous, cost him little; for they are said to eat like swine, to sleep like horses, and to obey like dogs. The master gives himself little trouble about their lodging or their food. Bread, clothing, a moderate salary of 24 *sous* a week, with some occasional correction of the cudgel, constitute the whole of their pay. They lie where they can, in a stable, vestibule, corridor, or hall, on a plank, or a sack of hay; they eat where they can, and what they can. Provided the master of the family wants nothing himself, he takes no concern about others, not even about strangers, who enjoy the benefit only of his table and his roof. At his table the Pole is more sumptuous than delicate, more gluttonous than nice. If he has a service of plate, he has no linen; if the dishes consist of poultry, game, and fish, they are associated with barley-bread. It is in the variety or sumptuousness of the beverage that we find the principal luxury of the table, and attraction of the guests. At all times, people, who have no vineyards, have been more intemperate than those who have. The Thracians, corrupted by the Persians under Darius, and by the Greeks before Alcibiades, were reckoned great drinkers; at present intemperance prevails most among the inhabitants of the north, and not least among the Poles. An ambitious, vindictive, or factious Pole, brings over as many persons to his views as he can inundate stomachs with floods of brandy or of wine. He would often sell his father for drink, or even sacrifice the modesty of his wife. Parties of Poles often associate to go to a friend's house at a distance, in order to empty his cellar, and devour his provisions; after which they

proceed on the same errand to some other habitation. This conspiracy of drunkards would be more frequent, if the great distance which separates the houses of the richer inhabitants did not place so many impediments in the way. In the repasts of persons of distinction, there seems at first an air of singular moderation and sobriety: a small cruet of sourish French white wine is placed near every cover, with a large flaggon of water; but towards the middle of the feast the toasts begin to circulate in bumpers of Hungarian wine. One glass serves the whole company, which is changed every toast; this is filled, and every individual is expected to drink it dry. The glass, which passes from mouth to mouth, is no sooner emptied, than another appears, in which the *moustaches* of the company are successively dipped. If the individual who drinks do not stand up, it is reckoned an affront to the host, and to the person whose health is drank; so that there is nothing but a perpetual alternation of rising up and sitting down while the table lasts.

Hungary produces one of the richest wines in Europe, it may be kept a long time without losing the sweetness of must. It is not in perfection till it is ten or fifteen years old, when it passes for Tokai. It is a wine which undergoes only a slow and gentle fermentation; and exhales no acid gas. Its saccharine matter is not combined with a sufficient quantity of water to produce a violent fermentation. It stupefies rather than intoxicates the drinker. Thus the Pole displays no excess of mirth in his ebriety. The high price of this wine, and the avidity with which it is sought, have contributed not a little to dissipate the fortunes of the rich. The staroste Malakowski had expended more than a million of livres on this article of luxury. He drank it out of a glass which contained two bottles. At the time when the present observer was in Poland, the use of napkins had not been long known; and we are informed that the father of the great and pompous noble, prince Radzivil, during a certain splendid festival, wiped a plate, before it was presented to a lady, with the end of his shirt. The Poles suffer the hair to grow on the upper lip; but shave the head, with the exception of a tuft of hair which is left to grow on the top. It is in this tuft of hair, which is not more than two inches long, that that uncommon malady, which is called the *plica*, appears. To this uncommon malady the Poles seem to have an exclusive claim. It mats the hairs together till they are twisted into cords, into which blood-vessels are received. It is generally believed that the amputation causes death; nevertheless, the author says that it has been occasionally performed without any inconvenience; the only difficulty is to staunch the hæmorrhage

which ensues. This disease is said to be the effect of filth. Persons who are affected with the *plica*, never make use of the comb; and they lie with the head bare, on hay, or in the dust.

We should suppose that a certain degree of neatness was always combined with luxury: but we often see them separated among the Poles. A Pole, who is dressed in velvet, will be seen wiping his nose with his fingers; the proprietor of a palace is often eaten up with lice, for this disgusting insect is so common that it ceases to disgust. The occupant of a cottage will be seen covered with silk and gold; and he who has a large establishment, will be destitute of objects of convenience; he will have chambers without beds, and chimnies without poker and tongs.

It is an indubitable fact, that the habitudes of absolute power uniformly harden the heart. The vassalage which prevails in Poland encourages the tyrannical propensities of man. Tyranny, however narrow may be the sphere within which it is exercised, soon learns to refer every thing to itself, and to become indifferent to the sensations of others. The Pole, who is rendered tyrannical by the early taste of arbitrary power, soon becomes callous to the sufferings of those around him. Thus all the tender sympathies of humanity are withered and despised. The author tells us that he has been a witness of assassinations, which would have thrown whole provinces into confusion; but concerning which hardly any thing was said even on the spot. A Masalki caused a peasant to be devoured by dogs, because he had accidentally frightened his horse; a Radzivil ordered the belly of one of his vassals to be opened, into which he put his feet, as a remedy for the rheumatism. Cruelty is never the associate of true courage; the Pole is said to be bold only when he is drunk. The Polish peasantry, indeed, fought well under the banners of Kosciusko; but most of the nobles sacrificed their country to their selfishness and cowardice. The Jews constitute a large part of the population of Poland, as Casimir the Great, who kept a Jewish mistress, conceded many privileges to that nation, which they still enjoy. The principal of these consist in being subject only to the jurisdiction of the vayvode, whom they know how to conciliate by presents; in being allowed to settle their own differences in civil matters; and in an exemption from every charge, but the national imposts, and the capitation which is due to the local lords. These have a great interest in promoting the establishment of the Jews on their estates, as they are the principal vendors of the produce, which would have little value without their intervention. The breweries and distilleries, the mills and

inns, which belong to the lord, are farmed by the Jews. It is the Jew to whom he is chiefly indebted for his pecuniary supplies. The descendants of Abraham are said to be greater cheats in Poland than in any other part, because they have more oportunities of exercising their rapacity, in the diversity of trades and occupations which they exclusively possess. They constitute the only agents of commerce, and the only artisans. Free to exercise all trades, they are neither fettered by the restrictions of corporations, nor the expence of licences, but they attach themselves most to those which require the smallest portion of ingenuity and toil. They are millers, tailors, leather-dressers, lace-men, pewterers; but they do not furnish carpenters, weavers, watch-makers, or surgeons. Though in the former state of Poland, every encouragement was afforded to the conversion of the Jews, though by abjuring judaism they might have acquired landed property, and become eligible to the most lucrative and honourable posts, yet they had the courage to resist the lure of privileges which would not probably have been withstood with so much firmness by any other sect. The Polish Jews seem to possess more of the spirit of their ancient legislator, and to furnish doctors and rabbies to the rest of Europe. But it is time to conclude this article. The work which has furnished the materials will be found to contain more information repecting Poland, than any other book with which we are acquainted. Some parts of the account may appear to differ from that of Mr. Burnet in a former number, or of M. Gilibert in the present Appendix. But different writers will view the same subject in different lights, and some variations may be expected in the description of a tract of country so extensive as Poland *once was*. M. Vautrin had resided several years in the country which he describes; and we have no reason to call in question either the diligence of his research, the accuracy of his remarks, or the veracity of his narrative.

ART. XI.—*Théorie du Beau, &c.*

Theory of the Beautiful in Nature and in Art: a posthumous Work of P. J. Barthez, Physician to the Emperor and the Government, formerly Chancellor of the University of Medicine of Montpellier, and Counsellor of State, Member of the Legion of Honour, and of almost all the celebrated Academies of Europe. Arranged and published by his Brother; with a Life of the Author. 8vo. Paris. Imported by Dulau. 1807.

BEAUTY is a relative and secondary quality, which, like that of cold, or colour, has no existence except in the senti-

ment which we have of it. But though beauty be an impalpable abstraction, the sentiment is a physical reality. We are apt to suppose that beauty exists in the object itself, and is one of its inherent properties, like figure or extension. In the review of Brusasque's useful work, entitled '*Illustrations of Taste*,' we exhibited a copious detail of the different opinions which have been held respecting the beautiful; as the knowledge even of the erroneous opinions and theories which have been entertained on any subject, may lead to results which are more agreeable to nature and to truth. In the theories which philosophers have formed on the nature of the beautiful, they have too usually ascribed the beauty of all the objects which come under the denomination of beautiful, to one single generic principle, which is always liable to numerous exceptions. But they would have had a better chance of arriving at the truth, if they had taken pains to observe the particular modifications which different kinds of objects must possess in order to excite the sentiment of beauty. Thus some philosophers have asserted that beauty consists essentially in the unity of a whole combined with the variety of its parts; but they did not consider that unity is found combined with variety in an infinite number of wholes or successions of objects, without this union producing any beauty when the objects are ugly in themselves. Those who make beauty consist in perfection, do not consider that we are not capable of forming a judgment on what constitutes perfection. The Leibnitzians said vaguely, that beauty is that which pleases, and ugliness that which is displeasing; but may there not be a want of beauty in an object which different relations render extremely agreeable? In order to give rise to the sentiment of beauty, it seems necessary that the object should excite at once many agreeable sensations, each of which contains some elementary principle of beauty, but the agreeable sensations which are the basis of the sentiment of beauty, are effects depending on the impressions of very different objects among different people, or even different individuals, and these vary according to the diversity of habits and constitutions. When many agreeable sensations, which have the character of beauty, are excited at the same time by an object, their union causes a sentiment of the beauty of this object; and this sentiment is produced according to a primordial law of our nature. Thus then we may allow that the sentiment of beauty is the result of various different sensations; as the sensation of order blended with variety, of delicacy, smoothness, undulation of surface, &c. all of which do not always meet in the same beautiful object, but some of which are always concerned in producing the sentiment. Now the objects which ex-

cite the sensations of order blended with variety, of delicacy, smoothness, &c. will do it in different degrees in different individuals, according to the culture of the reasoning assisted by the sensitive faculty in observing and discriminating those properties in objects in which the characteristic constituents of beauty are found. Thus particular objects appear beautiful to some which are not thought so by others; and some persons of a grosser judgment, who possess less extent of observation or a more limited range of comparison, may suppose an object beautiful in which no beauty would appear to a person who has had his discriminating powers more copiously exercised and his taste more cultivated. But because persons differ in their opinion of what is beautiful, or in the degree of beauty which they ascribe to particular objects, yet the sentiment of beauty when analysed into its constituent parts, will be found the same in all; and though the judgment of beauty may be erroneous, or though the properties of beauty may be imagined where they do not exist, or may be supposed greater than they are, yet this does not affect the reality of the sentiment, or alter the nature of the principles of which it is composed. The sentiment of beauty in a clown, though differing in intensity, is the same in essence as in the artist, though the artist may discern beauties which would be invisible to the clown, or though the clown may judge that to be beautiful, which the artist, forming his opinion from a wider range of observation and comparison, may suppose the contrary. The sentiment of beauty is the product of certain sensations, which sensations are occasioned by certain real or supposed qualities in objects which are deemed beautiful. From the multiplied variety of opinions which have been held respecting the beautiful, it has been supposed that the sentiment itself was an imaginary thing. But we have endeavoured to shew that the sentiment is composed of certain determinate sensations which are common to the whole species of man. No person ever called in question the beauty of the Venus de Medicis; though if a promiscuous assembly were invited to behold that statue, it is probable that hardly two individuals would think alike on the subject. Some would think the degree of beauty greater than others, and some would discriminate beauties which the grossness of others would not notice; but the sentiment of beauty, though varied in intensity and degree, would be essentially the same in all.

When beauty is observed in any object, the sentiment is always in some degree imbued with the feeling of admiration. If we were to suppose with Hutcheson, that we have a separate sense for the perception of beauty, we should be exposed to a variety of erroneous conclusions. If we have

a distinct sense which excites the perception of beautiful objects of all kinds, those objects must constitute a particular class like the objects of taste, smell, sight, &c. which experience proves not to be the case: if, moreover, we had a particular sense for the perception of beauty, there could be no more room for disputing about what is beautiful, or the contrary, than there is about what is bitter or what is sweet. The sentiment which is produced in us when an object excites many agreeable sensations which are imbued with the constituent characters of beauty, is also very different from that habitual sentiment which we call *taste*, which is formed by the habit of exercising the rational faculty on the works of nature and of art. We may have a sentiment of beauty, while we are destitute of taste; but the more taste we possess, the more nicely shall we be able to discriminate the true constituents of the beautiful. When taste has been formed by culture, it may from the influence of habit so rapidly communicate its results, as to appear like a natural sense or an instinctive energy. The rapidity of the intellectual motions, when improved by continued exercise, almost exceeds the possibilities of calculation.

The author says, that among the objects of the different senses, it is only those of sight and hearing, which can produce those agreeable sensations which melt into the sentiment of beauty. But the sensations of touch seem to the full as instrumental in causing this effect as those of the eye or the ear; for the sensation of smoothness, which, according to Burke, is one of the constituent properties of the beautiful, is originally the product of the touch; though the property of smoothness, is afterwards by the process of experience, in a great measure discriminated by the eye. Undulation of surface, or the waving lubricity of objects, is primarily taught more by the touch than the eye. The sensations of taste and smell are not considered among the constituents of the beautiful; not, as Sulzer supposes, from the confusedness of the perceptions, but because we in general consider beauty as residing less in the internal sentiment than in the external object; but the sensations of taste and smell seem to be so intimately as it were identified with the frame as to have no exterior existence. The sensation of heat appears to exist less in the organ than in the body by which it is produced; the sensation of sound is referred less to the ear than to the external cause; but the sensations of taste and smell are not so easily detached from the affection of the organs.

The second discourse of M. Barthez treats of the beautiful in sound, or of the agreeable sensations which, resulting from certain combinations of sounds, may be considered as the

elements of the beautiful in music. He thinks that the melodious succession of sounds is determined by their resemblance, and that the cause of the agreeable influence which is produced by harmony consists in the simplicity of the numbers which mark the intervals of concordant sounds. The charms attached to certain combinations of sound belong to certain primitive or acquired dispositions of the sensory. In the structure of the ear there is evidently a primitive disposition of the organ for the perception of harmony, but this primary disposition differs exceedingly in different individuals. We may remark with respect to the origin of the sentiment of beauty in music, that in this, as well as in the other arts, the sentiment itself has no existence in that which is the object of it; but that it is relative to the disposition of him who experiences the sentiment.

The third division of the work treats of the beautiful in the imitative arts, or in painting and sculpture. In painting and in statuary we perceive with pleasure the resemblance between the work and the objects imitated, and this is heightened in proportion to the ideal perfection which has been produced by the genius of the artist. Thus, in the statue of the Venus, we see with pleasure the general resemblance of the female form; and this pleasure almost rises into rapture, when we contemplate the ideal perfection of the figure which the mind of the statuary imagined, and which his hand executed. The general resemblance causes complacency, but the ideal perfection generates the most exalted species of delight. We behold a human figure, but invested with more charms than we ever saw united in any living form. The artist appears to have snatched a beauty beyond the reach of nature and of art. Though this production of the chisel may seem above nature, yet there is no part contrary to nature, but there is a greater assemblage of beauties in one whole than nature seems to think it expedient to unite in the visible creation. When the taste is depraved, we adopt factitious charms, or which are not conformable to those affections which are most general among enlightened men; yet the union of these charms does not on that account prevent men of false or vitiated taste from experiencing the sentiment of beauty. But even a false and vitiated taste is still founded on a sentiment of beauty, of which we cannot dispute the reality, though the causes in which that sentiment originates may be found on enquiry to be only factitious or imaginary charms, which do not enter into the composition of the beautiful: for though there is but one beautiful in nature, as far as respects the elementary principles of beauty, yet there is a true and a false beautiful, as far as respects the sentiment of the mind or the perception of the individual.

The essential principle of the imitative arts, is not only to produce a close resemblance to the object which is imitated, but to superadd beauties which originate in the mind of the artist, and which render the image more sensational and interesting than the imitated object. M. l'Abbé Artiaga says (in his *Investigaciones filosoficas sobra la Bellega ideal, considerada come objecto de todas las Artes de Imitacion, Madrid*, 1789, p. 66.) that the ideal beauty, considered in general, is a mental model of perfection, which has been produced by comparing and uniting the perfections of individuals. The ideal beauty considered in particular as the object of all the imitative arts, is the model of perfection in the works of these arts, and is formed of itself and applied by the artist. Zeuxis (as we are informed by Cicero, lib. II. c. 1.) wishing to paint a picture of Helen for the inhabitants of Crotona, which was to be that of a perfectly beautiful woman, assembled all the beautiful females in the place, from whom he selected five, who each furnished different traits of beauty, which he blended together in one harmonious piece, to form a whole of the ideal beautiful. Ideal beauty is the product of genius improved by study; it requires in the artist a mind which has been constantly occupied with elevated ideas, beautiful images, and sublime sentiments, which are within the province of his art, and most capable of making a vigorous impression on the affections of the beholder. A familiar intercourse with such conceptions must tend to develope the faculty of forming them into combinations, which were before unknown, and which are so many ideal beauties which he realises in his works. The artist, whose mind is filled with types of the ideal beautiful, is continually producing new combinations of beauty similar to that of the elements from which they are derived. It is the same with the production of those beauties which are found in the works of the poet and the orator.

The fifth discourse of M. Barthez treats of the beauties of eloquence. The author divides this part of his work into four sections: in the first of which he treats of the harmony which results from the construction of words in an oratorical discourse; in the second, of the different kinds of oratorical style; in the third, of oratorical means; in the fourth, of the causes which, at different times, have prevented orators from attaining the sublime. The construction of words which is most useful in an oratorical discourse must be determined by the importance or interest of the objects which are designated by the words; and by that disposition of the words which is best suited to that harmony or rythm, of which the effect is most agreeable. It is by combining these two considerations

that we may determine how far every word is in its place. Great effects may be produced by harmony of construction; for harmonious sounds have the power of commanding and of captivating the sensibility of the heart; so that they often give to words an interest and a potency greater than the ideas have which they represent. The force of harmony in oratorical language is felt by persons in every variety of condition, but principally by those who have a delicate and cultivated ear.

Beccaria said, that the principal object of style should be to produce the greatest quantity of sensational effect. But the style which, like that of Tacitus, is full of meaning, and affords ample matter for reflection, in the smallest possible number of words, has a species of perfection which is very different from that of the oratorical style, which is principally designed to move the imagination and the passions. In an oratorical discourse, it is requisite that the diction should be sufficiently expanded, clearly and accurately to exhibit the principal and the accessory ideas. The full and lucid perception of the sense multiplies the attractions of the style.

The oratorical style is commonly divided into the simple, the sublime, and the middle or temperate. This distinction is real either with respect to the different subjects of which the orator treats, or to the character of the diction which he usually employs. The style of every great orator may be considered in its essential form, and in the modifications which that form may receive, according to the effects which it is intended to produce. These different modifications constitute that appropriate variation of style which is regarded as the perfection of eloquence by the greatest masters of the art. The essential form of style which nature and study conspire to render the distinguishing property of every orator, may be considered under the denominations of the elevated, the vehement, the copious, &c. &c. The particular modifications of this essential form are necessary in order to adapt it to the subject. The fundamental form of style, and its particular modifications, are determined by the sensibility of the individual, so that the style is impressed with the moral characteristics of the orator. The nature of his remarks, and the modes of his diction, have a reference to the sensations which objects excite, and to the turn of his reflections. The tone of his mind and his heart may be distinguished in his style. The style of a great orator, though it will have a marked character, will still be kept in unison with the varying emotions of his breast. The essential form and the varied modifications which ought to characterise the orator, may be illustrated by the example of Demosthenes. The essential form of the

style of Demosthenes is, first, the *compressed* and *nervous*, as there is no looseness in the connection, nor superfluity in the diction; secondly, the *grave;* as the turn which is given to the thoughts has nothing frivolous or volatile; thirdly, the *grand* or *elevated*; as the phraseology is never colloquial or vulgar, though it contains nothing like affectation or refinement. These constant characteristics of the style of Demosthenes conspire to mark his oratory with the impress of *truth*; or give it the air of being inspired by an intimate conviction of the thing which he wishes to persuade. Demosthenes modifies with admirable facility this essential form of his style, in order to adapt it to the passing emotions of his mind, or to the subjects of which he treats. Without changing the essence of his manner, he introduces a mixture of different kinds of style with unequalled skill. These inimitable variations have caused him to be compared to the Proteus of the fable. His style contains both simplicity and ornament, the sweet and agreeable, the terrible and austere, according to the moral differences which he wishes to express, or the passions which he wishes to excite. Demosthenes exhibits more charm and less austerity in the style of his exordium, and in the narrative part of his judicial harangues. It is necessary to interest the attention, while we are presenting a dry detail of facts or succession of odious contrivances. It is of importance thus to fix the attention that it may be ready for the serious discussions which follow. Thus without parting with his constant and essential character, Demosthenes knew how to appropriate to himself the distinctions of the different orators who preceded him, without making any one the object of exclusive imitation. Thus by the union of these forms, which are varied with transcendant ability, he has introduced perspicuity into the style which is most elevated above common use; nerve and vehemence into the simple style, and into the middle or temperate, variety, symmetry and movements, analogous to those of the predominant passion. And so judiciously did he blend the use of all those forms of style as to attain the most perfect adaptation of his expressions to the things or the persons which are the subjects of his eloquence. Cicero modified the essential form of his style by imitating, not only in Demosthenes but in every great orator, what best accorded with his genius and his taste. But the essential form of the style of Cicero, instead of having the nerve and the compression of that of Demosthenes, is more languid, more diffuse, and filled with repetitions. Cicero invelopes a few leading thoughts in a mass of words.

The oratorical means, in addition to those of the construc

tion and the style, are, 1st, the proofs taken from the principles, which the orator applies, according to the rules of logic, to the questions of which he treats; 2d, the reasonings drawn from the facts, which he endeavours to establish, to deny, or to explain, according to the maxims of probability: 3d, the images and other circumstantial details of the subject, which act on the imagination and agitate the heart: 4th, and principally, the moral sentiments, or impassioned feelings, which the author causes to rise out of the subject of which he treats. The oratorical art should combine sentiment and imagery with the deductions of reason. It is by these combinations that the orator attains the principal end of eloquence, which is to persuade more often than to convince, and to fix the resolution of the auditors on what is most just, though it is often opposite to their opinions and their passions. It is thus that he awakens the dormant principles of nature in the heart, weakens the impulsions of extravagant passion, and produces a disposition to listen to the voice of reason and humanity. In every subject it belongs to the genius of the orator to invent appropriate arguments, sentiments, and imagery. The principal sources of oratorical beauty consist in the sentiments and passions which the orator excites. There are two kinds of the pathetic; that which is simply *vehement*, and that which moves the tender affections, as benevolence and compassion. Demosthenes has made a masterly display of the vehement pathetic, which was most appropriate to his subjects, which were seldom fitted for the soft and more tender species. This vehemence operated so powerfully on the sensibilities of the ancients, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus informs us, that on simply reading an oration of Demosthenes, they were seized with enthusiasm, agitated by the different emotions of contempt, horror, disdain, hatred, rage, &c. Longinus, among the superior excellencies which he assigns to Hyperides, in comparing him with Demosthenes, reckons his ability to excite commiseration. It is in pathetic tenderness that Cicero particularly excels. In some parts of his orations there are descriptions in which the objects are placed before the eye, and brought home to the heart by imagery and diction, blended with the beauties of sentiment. These beauties spring from the judicious selection of particulars which are in general fitted to exite the deepest sympathy, and by means of the imagination, to agitate the whole sensibilities of the soul. In the fifth oration of Cicero against Verres, he paints the aggravated distress of the mothers of some commanders of vessels, who had been unjustly condemned to death by Verres, and who passed the night previous to the execution of their sons at the gates of

the prison, without being able to obtain the only favour which they requested of once more embracing their children, and of receiving the last sigh which they could breathe before they went to death. The orator then represents these unfortunate mothers throwing themselves at his feet, as he was entering a town of Sicily by torchlight, and imploring his eloquence to avenge on the guilty head of Verres the murder of their sons. There is a similar union of imagery and sentiment, in a part of the same oration, where he draws a picture of Gavius who had been crucified by order of Verres, on a point of the coast of Messina, within sight of Italy; from which it was separated only by the strait. Thus, said Cicero, Gavius, when he was expiring in torture, was suffered to behold the short distance which separated him from the land of liberty; and Italy was doomed to see the ignonimous punishment of a freeman who had been born in her bosom, &c. But the beauty of this piece is afterwards impaired by the trivial exaggeration of the orator, who says that the recital of this atrocity is capable of moving not only man and beasts, but even rocks to which it should be told in the most desert solitudes.

The figures which Cicero employs, are in general chosen with much taste; but he often discovers a vitiated propensity to what is rather ingenious and amusing, than judicious or profound. The taste of Cicero was certainly matured by experience, since in a later period of his life, he condemned what he had said in his youth in his oration for Roscius, on the punishment of the parricides, in which he had mistaken a climax of absurdity for a specimen of the sublime. But even to the termination of his career, Cicero retained a predilection for instituting comparisons between things which had only a fortuitous association or resemblance. This is what many critics have justly condemned in the celebrated passage of his oration against Piso, Cumque ipse nudus in convivis saltaret, ne tum quidem cum illum saltatorium versaret orbem, fortunæ rotam pertimiscebat.

M. Barthez well remarks that the author can never act more powerfully on a mixed assemblage of people, than when his moral character is elevated to the highest degree of perfection. It is this which gives the impress of sincerity to his persuasions, the force of truth to his statements, and an air of unsophisticated dignity to every thing which he says. Plutarch remarks in the life of Cato, that, previous to the battle of Dyrrachium, the exhortations of Pompey and of the other generals made little impression on the soldiers; but that their courage was powerfully roused by the speech of Cato, who expatiated with great cogency and

pathos on liberty, virtue, death and glory, while he terminated his harrangue with an invocation to the gods, as if they were actual spectators of the combat in which they were about to engage.

The poetic expression of sentiments and passions adds to the strength of their action on the mind. When this expression causes agreeable emotions, it produces a kind of beauty which constitutes one of the perfections of poetry:

'Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunto.'

Homer, who is almost always an original author with respect to Virgil, often depicts in a few bold and masterly strokes those subjects which afterwards employed the pencil of the latter; but, in his imitations, Virgil, while his taste causes him to avoid some of the ruder touches of Homer, often adds to the principal features which he borrows from him, some picturesque and interesting accessories. It is principally in describing the agonizing sensations of Dido, in which he has displayed most pathetic traits and most poetic skill. There are few passages in any poet which more interest the sensibility than that in which Virgil has described the torturing inquietudes and incessant woes which agitated the bosom of the Carthaginian queen, while he has heightened the charm of the picture by contrast with the soft repose which every other sensitive being seemed to experience. The reader will not fail to observe how much the sensational effect of the description is increased by the soft flow of the lines,

'Nox erat; et placidum carpebant fessa sopore m
Corpora per terras; silvæque et sæva quiêrant
Æquora; quum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu;
Quum tacet omnis ager; pecudes pictæque volucres,
Quæque lacus latè liquidos, quæque aspera dumis
Rura tenent, somno positæ sub nocte silenti
Lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum:
—At non infelix animi Phœnissa.'

When the poetic expression of affecting sentiment is combined with striking imagery, the effect is wonderfully increased. We have a simple and interesting instance of the beauty of such an union in these verses, in which Ovid describes the first glow of affection in the statue of Pygmalion.

———dataque oscula virgo
Sensit, et erubuit; *timidumque ad lumina lumen*
Attollens, pariter cum cœlo vidit amantem.
(Metam. l. x. 292—4.')

There are few descriptions which better evince the combined effect of poetic expressions, of fine imagery and energetic sentiment, than that which Lucan gives (B. C. lib. iii.) of a consecrated forest in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, which Cæsar had given orders to his soldiers to cut down, but who were arrested by the terrors of superstition. Lucan says that the religious dread which was inspired by the divinities of the Gauls, who were thought to have made this forest their abode, was attached even to the rude and grotesque forms of which their statues were composed.

> Simulachraque mœsta deorum
> Arte carent cæsisque extant informia truncis.
> Non vulgatis sacrata figuris
> Numina sic metuunt; tantum terroribus addit
> Quos timeant non nosse deos.

Lucan adds, that nevertheless the army of Cæsar yielded obedience from a mixed sentiment which made them fear the resentment of Cæsar more than that of the gods.

> Non sublato secura pavore
> Turba, sed expensâ superorum et Cæsaris irâ.

In the fifth section of the sixth discourse we find some judicious observations on the marvellous in poetry. One of the highest degrees of the marvellous is that in which reality is attached to an object whose existence cannot possibly be conceived from the opposite and irreconcileable nature of the elements of which it is composed. Thus Virgil says that the thunderbolts which the Cyclops forged for Jupiter were composed of equal parts of hail, of rain, of wind, and twisted fire, *ignis torti* to which he adds, not only the lightning's flash and the thunder's roar, but the terror which it inspires and the divine rage which directs its course. This picture, if we consider it coolly, is utterly discordant and absurd. The ideas which are expressed by the words have no natural association; nor can we by any strength of fancy conceive the possibility of their co-existence. And even in poetry, where so many and such wide deviations from the realities of truth appear to be admitted by immemorial prescription, we are of opinion that all representations ought to be rejected in which the improbable runs into the impossible. The poet may walk on the verge of Chaos, or expatiate amid the forms of an ideal world, but he ought never entirely to lose sight of the resemblances and combinations of this material globe, or shock our belief by a display of what is nothing but marvellous absurdity.

The poetic expression of elevated or impassioned sentiments may be carried to the sublime. Such is the language which Lucan puts into the mouth of Cato of Utica, in order to express the most lofty and enlightened sentiments of republican virtue. This sublimity may be seen in the single trait of a great character in which habit has formed a second nature superior to that of ordinary men. The symptoms of an impetuous passion may be so described as to prove sublime, and operate most powerfully on the soul. The Ode of Sappho which Longinus has preserved, is of this species; in which we are to observe that it is not so much the passion, as the picture which Sappho has drawn of it, that is sublime. We must now take our leave of M. Barthez, which we do with a strong conviction of his learning, sagacity and taste.

Digest of English Literature and Science,

FOR THE LAST FOUR MONTHS.

IN pursuance of the plan which we have lately adopted, and which we are happy to find has met with general approbation, we close our Appendix with a Digest of the literature of the last four months, a period which has been fixed upon, because it enables us to close each volume of our Review (of which *three* constitute the complement for the year) with a general and summary character of the publications which have been noticed in it, assisting thereby the memory of the reader, or empowering him at a single glance to direct his reading or form his library with advantage.

RELIGION.

Mr. Smith's 'Examination of the Passages contained in the Gospels and other Books of the New Testament, respecting the Person of Jesus,' does great credit to his sense and moderation.—Fellowes's 'Manual of Piety,' is a little work which we hope to see universally circulated. It is extracted from the Holy Living and Dying, of Jeremy Taylor, with a life, additional prayers and other original matter by the editor; and it cannot fail to delight and edify readers of every denomination and every sect, who retain any regard for the genuine christian doctrine, or for the unsophisticated loveliness of piety and virtue.—Collyer's 'Lectures on Scripture Facts,' are remarkable for nothing but pompous inanity.—Dr. Draper, author of 'Lectures on the Liturgy,' is one of those who assume to themselves the exclusive title of EVANGELICAL preachers. It will immediately be concluded

that his work contains no small portion of the jargon of the conventicle.—Another divine, Mr. Wilson, has given us 'Sermons on various Subjects,' which are ridiculous from the self-conceit, and contemptible from the intolerance and servility displayed in them.—We have also two volumes of Sermons by Mr. Evanson, a most conscientious and respectable divine, now deceased. His discourses are plain and rational, not entitling their author to any high degree of literary fame, but distinguished by a zeal in the cause of true Christianity, which makes them worthy of extensive circulation.—Mr. Brichan's Sermons are common-place. They are what is usually termed orthodox; but they are free from intolerance, and not unenriched with the precepts of practical morality.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

In politics and political economy, the first work which we have to notice, is an "Essay on the Theory of Money and the principles of Commerce." Mr. Wheatley, the author, has displayed considerable perspicuity and force of reasoning, which may serve to detect the numerous errors of the late Mr. Pitt, in the administration of this country, and to expose the falsehood of those praises which have been so liberally bestowed upon him for his financial accomplishments.—Mr. Spence has published a pamphlet to prove that the prosperity of Britain is independent of her commerce. His motive was probably to shew his ingenuity, for the most shallow reasoner might confute his arguments. —Dr. Tennant's "Thoughts on the effects of the British Government on the State of India," is an excellent work. Both in a moral and political point of view, we owe much to the natives of that country, and we have it in our power to perform what we owe.—Another oppressed portion of the subjects of the British crown, the catholics of Ireland, have found an able advocate in Mr. Parnell. From that gentleman's 'Historical Apology,' his Majesty's present ministers have much to learn, which might render them wiser both in theory and practice.—The anonymous author of 'Considerations on the Trade with India,' is a clear and intelligent writer, and has forcibly pourtrayed the mischiefs arising from the Company's present monopoly.—Mr. Colquhoun, a gentleman so well known both by his professional activity and his writings, evinces his usual vigilance of research and sagacity of observation in his late work, 'A Treatise on Indigence,' which amply fulfils the promises of its title-page in exhibiting propositions for ameliorating the condition of the poor, for improving the moral habits and increasing the

comforts of the labouring people.—Mr. Spence, who comes before us again, in his work on the Distresses of the West India planters, seems to view the subject in its proper light, and to have a clear conception of the inefficacy of the palliative and temporary measures which have been proposed for their relief. To throw open the trade of the colonies is the grand and the only expedient which can effectually serve them.—Of Pitt's speeches, which were familiarized to our readers as they flowed from the lips of the illustrious orator, it would be needless for us to offer any character. But in estimating the merits of the editor of the present publication, it is our opinion that the selection is not judicious, and that the speeches which are given lose much of their effect by being detached from the several debates to which they may be said to belong.

HISTORY.

The immense empire of Charlemagne was divided soon after his death, into numerous independent states, which from that period to the present day have undergone various revolutions. These it has been Mr. Butler's aim to illustrate in a connected series of 'notes.' The subject is interesting and important, and well worthy the labours of the philosophic historian. Mr. Butler has sketched a general outline of such a picture, and marked the more prominent features with sufficient distinctness, and he is entitled to our applause for the clear exposition of many important historical facts, as well as for many ingenious discussions on intricate points of antiquity.

Dr. Gillies has given us an 'History of the World from the Reign of Alexander to that of Augustus.' The period which he has chosen is certainly a busy one, and to that circumstance, perhaps, this work principally owes its interest, for it is enriched with none of those moral, political, and philosophical reflections, which add such a charm and value to the writings of the eminent historians of Greece, of Rome, and of our own country. Dr. G.'s style is flowing, but objectionable on account of the multiplicity of ornament, which is more suited to poetry than prose, to the orator than the historian, or is at any rate the Pelian spear, which can be wielded only by the hands of Gibbon.—Mr. Card is an easy, gentleman-like, and respectable writer, but his 'Reign of Charlemagne,' will not procure for its author any considerable share of reputation.—The public is favoured by Baron Maseres with some 'Select Documents of English History, relative to the Times of the Norman Conquest.' It will be an

acceptable present to all who are interested in the history of their country, as it contains some of the most ancient authorities with respect to the above important æra, and to the state of England for several years before and after it.

BIOGRAPHY.

A Mr. Ritchie has given a biographical account of the philosophic Hume, compiled from different well-known publications, which are in every body's hands; as Professor Stewart's 'Life of Dr. Robertson,' and the 'biographical sketch' of his own life, drawn up by Mr. Hume himself, and prefixed to the later editions of his History of England. The compiler (for he does not deserve the name of author) has performed his office in a very insufficient, indeed a very contemptible manner, and we are not surprized that the surviving relatives of the historian should have refused, as they seem to have done, to sanction the publication, by withholding the information they possess concerning him.—The 'Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter,' furnish some very interesting details of that truly pious and learned lady: they will edify by the exhibition of unsullied virtue and more than ordinary erudition, and will tend, we trust, to efface those prejudices which would deprive the softer sex of the benefit of a learned education.—Collinson's 'Life of Thuanus,' or De Thou, is, upon the whole, entitled to praise.—Mr. Barrow has also acquitted himself with great credit in his 'Life of the Earl of Macartney,' a work which we recommend to general perusal, and heartily wish that all those whose situation calls them to political situations of trust and eminence, would never cease to keep the bright example of that distinguished and excellent nobleman before their eyes.—Harriott's 'Struggles through Life,' hardly attains to the dignity of Biography. It is an account, written in a very vulgar style, by Mr. Harriott himself, of his own life, which certainly has been a most eventful one. He has travelled all over the world, has met with more adventures and mishaps, and has filled more various and apparently opposite situations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, than we could have supposed to exist in real life.

PHILOSOPHY, MORAL, PHYSICAL, AND METAPHYSICAL.

Dr. Young, who is well known as a person profoundly skilled in the methods of mathematical analysis, and the sciences depending on them, has lately published two quarto volumes of 'Lectures on Natural Philosophy and the Mechanical Arts.' It would not be easy to mention a work in which is compressed in a moderate compass so great a fund

of information. If the general principles are to be met with in previous publications, there are many improvements in particular parts which are peculiar to this. It is only to be lamented that the author has been too copious and comprehensive in the objects of his illustration, since in order to prevent a large work from assuming a still greater bulk, he has occasionally been obliged to adopt a brevity in his explanations, which is not always free from the charge of obscurity.—Florian Jolly's 'Elementary Course of the Sciences and Philosophy,' evinces a sound judgment and an accurate knowledge, both of the proper objects of elementary education, and of the powers and capacities of the youthful mind. The elucidations are sometimes unnecessarily copious, and the jargon of metaphysics, by a strange want of taste, is affectedly introduced. At other times the author's exertions have a claim to our thanks, and his knowledge commands our esteem.—Dr. Cogan's '*Ethical* Treatise on the Passions,' is the continuation of a *Philosophical* treatise on the same subject, published five years ago. The present work does equal credit to the heart and understanding of its author, and is well calculated to supply a desideratum in moral science, by a perspicuous discussion of this most interesting subject.—We were not sorry to see an 'Abridgement of Tucker's Light of Nature;' it is judiciously and creditably executed.—'Kirwan's Logic,' is a compound of good and bad. Many parts are marked by solid judgment, depth of reflection, and sagacity of remark; but an equal portion of it must be pronounced to be tedious, futile, and scholastic.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

In this amusing deparment of literature, which is a favorite with readers of all ages, sexes, and pursuits, we first have to notice Mr. Burnett, who resided several years in Poland, a country which has been but little explored, and which, from having been of late the theatre of a mighty conflict, in which the fate of Europe may be said to have been decided, has engaged much of the public attention. Although the candid author confesses that he did not enjoy very extensive or varied opportunities of observation, he seems yet to have made good use of those which did present themselves.—To Mr. Hall also the praise of having amused his readers may be afforded. But he moved in a beaten track. To impart a very lively interest to a journey in Scotland, would require a considerable depth of reflection, a quality of which Mr. Hall can by no means boast, and he would often sink into unqualified dullness, did he not redeem himself

by a variety of anecdote, of which he possesses a never-failing store.—Mr. Janson, the American traveller, we cannot recommend to public notice.—Still less Mr. Semple, who made a 'Tour through Spain and Italy to Constantinople,' in all which long and interesting journey he does not seem to have gleaned one new idea to enrich either his own, or the public stock of knowledge.—The 'Account of New Zealand,' by Mr. Savage, has its use, in pointing out the advantages which that island offers for colonization, its harbours being safe and capacious, the soil rich and favourable to cultivation, and the natives possessing in a superior degree both the capability and disposition for instruction.—To Mr. Thornton's 'Present State of Turkey,' we devoted a more than usual share of our attention. An authentic and impartial account of the Turks was a desideratum in literature. Numerous have been the writers on the subject, both English and foreign, and the object, or at least, the effect of their labours, seems only to have been to contradict each other's statements and assertions. Mr. Thornton, we think, has supplied the deficiency. He has been enabled by a residence of fourteen years to reconcile conflicting opinions, and has presented us with a body of information, whose correctness cannot be doubted, which is at once entertaining and valuable, and will largely gratify the idle reader of travels, while it amply repays the attention of the political or philosophical student.—Of Herriot's 'Travels in the Canadas,' we can say nothing more than that they are travels in the Canadas.

MEDICINE.

The offices attached to the numerous public hospitals which are the boast of our country, are too frequently sought for merely from private views, and if their duties are not absolutely neglected, the occupation of them is rendered merely subservient to selfish purposes. Dr. Bardsley, who is physician to four hospitals in the populous and flourishing town of Manchester, has conceived the nobler plan of applying his extensive opportunities to the advancement of science and the improvement of the medical profession, and with that view has published a volume of 'Medical Reports.' We could wish to see others in situations of similar responsibility, fulfilling with equal scrupulousness the duties which they virtually owe to the public.

The dignified, dispassionate, and satisfactory 'Report of the College of Physicians on the Subject of Vaccination,' will, we trust, meet with universal circulation throughout Europe, and be effectual in removing the obstacles which

may still remain to the general adoption of that grand and salutary discovery.—Dr. Adams's first edition of 'Morbid Poisons,' was published in octavo, ten years ago. It now re-appears in quarto, with the addition of so much new matter, as to have demanded at our hands that attention which is usually allowed only to works entirely new. We heartily recommend it to the attention of the profession, premising at the same time that in this as in the original edition, the opinions of Mr. Hunter are rigidly adhered to, nor have the experience and investigation of ten years freed Dr. Adams from the shackles of authority, or diminished his confidence in the infallibility of his master.—In publishing his 'Code of Health and Longevity," it is to be suspected that the philanthropic author, Sir John Sinclair, has laboured under a species of self-deception by no means uncommon in those whose minds have not been regularly trained to science, and who, from having been in some respects successful in their attention to their own health, are not satisfied till they have erected a few partial and solitary observations into general and universal truths.—Dr. Wilson, in his 'Essay on the Nature of Fever,' has undertaken a task of great difficulty, that of assigning the proximate cause of fever. To accomplish this, he gives us a theory of his own, which however, approaches very nearly to the well-known one of Cullen, and which, in one word, we consider as totally inadequate to account for the phenomena.—Dr. Beddoes has also published 'Researches concerning Fever,' containing some acute remarks and ingenious suggestions, but nothing which can be converted to use. It is curious to observe, this self-sufficient writer, who commenced his medical career with a thorough contempt of all existing rules and practices; to whom his professional brethren were incessantly the objects of sarcasm and ridicule; who aimed at subverting the established systems of the healing art, and producing such thorough and important innovations as should exterminate half the diseases which afflict mankind—to find at length this conceited practitioner, this lover of novelties, divesting himself of the fantastic visions of his distempered brain, and plodding on quietly and contentedly in the footsteps of his wiser predecessors.

POETRY.

We come now to a region which is generally barren of every thing that can delight, and where the critic has it rarely in his power to employ the language of praise. We

are happy to except Lord Byron, who, in the lighter departments of poetry, has manifested the dawn of talents, which, when experience shall have enlarged his knowledge, and maturity of years corrected his judgment, may be expected to shine with no common lustre.

A sixth translator of Dante has lately appeared in the person of Mr. Howard. His version is much inferior to that of Mr. Carey, and its principal feature is its abundance in plagiarism.—Mr. Hogg, the Ettric Shepherd, is the next that presents himself, in a work intitled the 'Mountain Bard.' This humble and uncultivated servant of the Muses is entitled to a considerable share of that description of commendation which has been so liberally bestowed on Bloomfield.—The 'Progress of Love,' by Mr. Masters, shews the author to be possessed of many of the qualifications requisite for forming a poet. His judgment, taste, and good sense, are eminently conspicuous; the glow of genius pervades many parts of the work; his language and versification are liable to no objections, and we have a right to expect much from his future productions.—Some person, who has shewn a certain degree of sense in keeping his name a secret, has translated the Elegies of Pedo Albinovanus, a writer of the Augustan age, whose name is once mentioned by Horace. His elegies, at least what are here furnished, were not worth translating, and if they were, the present author was not competent to the task.—Mr. Fitzthomas's 'Translation of the Epistles of Ovid,' may claim a certain portion of qualified praise, some passages being rendered both with spirit and fidelity.—Mr. Smithers's Poem of 'Affection,' is adorned with beautiful plates, and reaches the lowest stage of poetical demerit.

NOVELS.

In this dreary region of literature, we have to distinguish one or two spots, which though not of first rate beauty or verdure, yet serve to enliven the uniformity of the desert. Israeli's 'Romances' will not be read without lively pleasure. The Eastern romance is entitled to the preference, and is enriched with much taste and fancy.—'Corinna' is disfigured with a thousand absurdities, but the genius of Madame de Stael, which all must admire, is perceptible.—Mr. Lathom has taken Tom Jones for his model, and is of course inferior to his great prototype. But his 'Gabriel Forrester' is materially better than most of the modern novels.—We were glad to see a translation of the romance of 'Palmerin of England,' from the pen of Mr. Southey, who has before

given a version of Amadis de Gaul to the public. The celebrity of these two romances will be familiar to every one who has read Don Quixote, as being the only two that the curate thought worthy of being preserved from the library of the knight of La Mancha.

MISCELLANEOUS.

M. Hammer, secretary to the Imperial Legation at Constantinople, discovered at Cairo an Arabic publication, said to have been written a thousand years ago, on the subject of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics.—It is now published in an English dress, and is a most curious and interesting performance, containing a tolerably intelligible key to the singular science of hieroglyphics.—Hogg's 'Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Sheep,' we warmly recommend to the attention of farmers, as the work of an honest and intelligent shepherd, little gifted with science, but endowed with a large portion of sound judgment and accurate observation.—The 'Elements of Agriculture,' by Mr. Naismith, is a more scientific, and therefore a less useful work, and the practical farmer will be induced to believe that a very large portion of it is but remotely connected with the business of agriculture.—Bourne's 'Gazetteer' will teach geography in the most amusing and instructive manner, by associating each place with historical or biographical recollections.—Chalmers's 'Caledonia,' taken as a thesaurus of Caledonian antiquarian matter, is a work certainly of considerable value; but the negligence or ignorance of the author has deformed it with many inaccuracies, unpardonable in a writer who enjoyed so many opportunities of acquiring information, from which others are debarred.

Such are the principal publications which have exercised our critical industry during the last four months. Many pamphlets and smaller works, might also be mentioned with applause, but their fugitive nature induces us to pass them over in silence, it being our object, in this digest, to appreciate summarily such works only as from the importance of their subjects, or their real or fancied merit, may put in a claim to more than temporary fame.

A Digest of Politics,

PRINCIPALLY DOMESTIC, FOR THE LAST FOUR MONTHS.

SINCE our last digest was written the war has assumed a character of more ferocity and barbarism. The inveterate

belligerents, not contented with their reciprocal hostilities, seem determined to wreak their vengeance on every power that still cherishes the spirit of amity and the love of peace. England has pillaged the marine and set fire to the capital of Denmark, not because she had any proof that Denmark would, but merely because she supposed it possible that Denmark might, be induced by circumstances to support the interests of France. But are the possibilities of injury, without any actual proof that injury is either meditated or designed, to justify the enormities of merciless hostility? In their answer to the Russian manifesto, our ministers confess that the armament which carried fire and sword into the Island of Zealand, was originally intended to co-operate with Russia against France. But when the peace of Tilsit rendered it impossible for us to assist Russia, what were the circumstances which could justify us in attacking Denmark? When we could no longer use that armament as a means of annoyance to our enemies, why should we employ it as an instrument of aggression on our friends? Our ministers have not produced a single particle of evidence beyond their own dogmatic assertions that Denmark had projected any alliance with France against the interests of England. All that they can say is, that it was a possible event; but if we are to act on the bare possibilities of hostility, we must for ever be at war with every nation that has either an army or a fleet. When we condemn the conduct of the English government, we must express equal or greater reprobation of the French. For Buonaparte declared he had decreed the extirpation of the Portuguese government, because that government had refused to ratify the confiscation of English property and the imprisonment of the English. The pretext which Buonaparte employed on this occasion deserves, on the score of morals, as much applause as that which has been used by the English government to justify their treacherous attack on the Danish capital. Denmark refused to listen to the unjust demands of England as Portugal did to those of France; and it is difficult on this occasion to say whether most abhorrence be due to the cabinet of England or of France. Indeed the two governments seem lately to have been anxiously striving which shall outstrip the other in the career of cruelty and injustice. There was a time when we thought that the pre-eminence in a vicious and unprincipled policy belonged to France; but recent experience has shewn that our present ministry are at least on a level with Talleyrand and his coadjutors, not indeed in mental strength, but in Machiavelian contrivance.

It is not less true in public than in private life, in the intercourse of nations than of individuals, that one act of retaliation

leads to another; and that on a comprehensive view not only of morality but policy, a system of action founded on the principle of revenge is as foolish and pernicious in the conduct of nations as of individuals. That reciprocity of deadly rancour which exists between the courts of Great Britain and of France, has instigated them to impose one restriction on the trade of neutrals after another, to harass them by successive vexations, and to load them with repeated indignities; till every neutral power, that might mitigate the evils of war, seems likely to be precipitated into that abyss of destruction which is prepared by the unrelenting fury of the belligerents. If any neutral vessel which has touched at a British port, though only from stress of weather, should enter the harbours of France, her cargo is to be confiscated and her crew to be imprisoned. And on the contrary Great Britain declares that every neutral vessel which is found entering a French port, without having come immediately from Great Britain, shall be liable to capture as lawful prize. In such a state of things, neutrals are reduced to what may be called a dilemma of destruction. Whatever course they adopt, spoliation and captivity stare them in the face. Under the conflicting prohibitions of England and of France, the commerce of those powers who are in a state of amity with the belligerents, is placed under an interdict of extermination. No neutral can any longer experience either respect or security on the ocean; which, if the present state of barbarian warfare continues, will soon be covered with piratical instead of neutral ships. Enterprising robbery will be substituted for mercantile speculation. The sea will swarm with marauders as it did before the relations of justice were acknowledged among nations. Of that system of unlimited outrage which has begun to be practised on the ocean, the guilt, though not inclusively confined to England, must at least be thought to belong as much to England as to France. The restrictions which we have from the beginning imposed on the intercourse of neutrals with the enemy have caused diverse modes of retaliation on the part of France which have again engendered a spirit of more infuriated animosity in the councils of Great Britain. We have always been of opinion that the commerce of neutrals ought to be unfettered with restrictions. The calamities of war are great enough of themselves, and why should we encrease them by superfluous aggravations? It will be said, will you allow a neutral state to supply your enemy with military stores? We will answer this question by asking in return, when, in all the wars which have occurred between France and England, did France ever make peace for want of steel for swords, of iron for muskets, or of gun-powder for ammu-

nition? If notwithstanding all the accumulated wrongs which we have committed in our endeavours to prevent neutrals from supplying our enemy with what we call the *contraband* of war, that enemy can always obtain a sufficient supply, notwithstanding our utmost prohibitions, why should we distress the trade of our friends in order to do a fancied injury to our foes?

Though France has clamoured for the doctrine that free ships make free goods, yet she has in practice violated that doctrine at least as much as Great Britain. But whatever may have been the violations of this principle by Britain or by France, we have no more doubt of the moral truth than we have of the political wisdom of the proposition. But in the present turbid and corrupt state of human affairs, it is vain to expect that nations will conform to maxims which are either morally true or politically wise, when any immediate object is to be obtained or any temporary end to be answered by their violation. We are however politicians, not of the Machiavelian, but of the Moral school; and we have not yet learned, like Mr. Cobbett and his partizans, that power constitutes right; or that a rigid adherence to the relations of justice is opposite to the real and permanent interests of nations. The reason why we respected the principles of Mr. Pitt so much less than those of Mr. Fox, was that the former were little more than a supple accomodation of opinions to the exigencies of the moment, while the latter were essentially incorporated with the great and immutable truths of justice and humanity. It appears to us that the intercourse which subsists between neutrals and other states in time of peace, ought to experience no interruption in time of war. For the relation between a neutral and any two belligerents, is not altered by their reciprocal hostilities. A neutral still continues friendly to both; and if her trade in particular circumstances should be more advantageous to one of the parties than to the other, yet neither is excluded from the benefits. The very idea of neutrality is opposite to that of preference; and, if a neutral shew *no undue preference* to our enemy, we have no reason to complain. Why should not America or any other neutral be allowed to send her produce where it will fetch the highest price? If two individuals disagree, are they justified in rendering their quarrel ruinous to a third who is no party in the dispute, but who is willing to carry on a friendly correspondence with both? The ocean, as we have said in another place (see C. R. for December, 442.), appears to us as a vast highway which was designed by Providence to facilitate the commerce of the world. On this liquid road, which man is at no expence to keep in repair, and which is wide enough to admit the traffic

of all the world, one nation can in point of justice, which we never view as disjoined from policy, possess no rights which are not common to the rest. Maritime rights are one and the same to all mankind who have ships to launch on the ocean. And if two maritime states have so little wisdom or so little virtue as to engage in the havock of war, on what ground can they pretend to impede the traffic of nations with whom they are both at peace? But in the sore and irritable state of men's minds, we know that these considerations will be rejected with disdain; and that the clamours of prejudice, of ignorance, of cruelty, and injustice will be loud enough to drown the still small voice of tender charity and of dispassionate truth. We can however find solace in the old adage that 'magna est veritas et prevalebit.'

We are, and in these evil times we are proud of confessing that we are, enemies to war and friends to peace. We should feel ourselves the basest of hypocrites if we affected to believe in the christian doctrine, while we abetted the horrors of war. No christian government, and such our government professes to be, can ever be justified in undertaking any war but that which is exclusively confined to self-defence. All wars of aggression, whatever may be their object, are criminal and unchristian. To fast and pray and to implore the succour of heaven in such wicked proceedings is to blaspheme the moral government of God. But let us ask; is this war which has already occasioned so many *solemn fasts* and which still threatens more, strictly defensive? Had ambition, had avarice, had the spirit of selfishness and the lust of tyranny itself, no share in the production? We leave this to be answered by the consciences of those whom it may concern!!! But whatever circumstances of extenuation there may have been in the war which we have been waging against France, we are most fearfully impressed with this conviction, that the war into which we have precipitated Denmark, was never yet exceeded in the annals of iniquity. In any war in which we may be engaged, the impression that it is just is necessary to increase the alacrity with which it is waged; and thus to aid in the success. But in the war against Denmark there is hardly a man either in the army or the fleet whose mind is so besotted or whose heart is so depraved as not to know and not to feel, that our hostility towards that country commenced in cruelty and injustice.

We know that the cry of PEACE, PEACE is very ungenial to the ears of those vultures, who fatten on the carrion of war. But we are glad to find that that cry is becoming general, and that, if the war be continued, it is likely to swell into a sound that must not only be heard but be obeyed.

Hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness, will not implicitly rely on the rhetorical assertion of ministers that the country is flourishing and that all is well. Their flippant oratory will not stop the cravings of appetite nor efface the impressions of sense. We have always thought that there never can be a more favourable opportunity for making peace than the *present*. The *now* which existed ten years ago, was more favourable for peace with France than the *present now*; and the *present now* is more promising than the *now* which may arrive in any future time. It is war, as Mr. Fox often remarked, it is war and not peace which has made France what she is. Her aggrandizement has always been in proportion to the continuance of hostilities and to the number of her enemies. The successive coalitions which Great Britain has either instigated or bribed against France, have laid the whole continent prostrate at her feet. As we have so long tried the experiment of war, and found it not only so barren of good, but so pregnant with evil, let us at least try the opposite experiment of peace. Peace under any circumstances can hardly be so disastrous as war; for peace, if it be regarded only as the cessation of slaughter and a sabbath from the shedding of blood, must be considered as a good of no ordinary kind. We know indeed that the lives of men are reckoned for little or nothing in the calculations of our mercenary politicians; but we cannot look with such profound apathy as our wise ministers on the murder of war. If, therefore, the peace which we make should afford only a brief interruption to the ravage and destruction of this sanguinary conflict, we should hail it as a boon, which we ought gratefully to receive rather than contemptuously to reject. And of this we are convinced, that, notwithstanding the ambition of Bonaparte, if we will make peace with him in the spirit of peace, and not pledge our amity with one hand, while we aim a dagger at his heart with the other, the peace which we make may be as permanent, nay is likely to be more permanent than any peace which we ever made with any of the Capetian kings. While we are perpetually exasperating the fiery temperament of Bonaparte by new aggressions of hostility, we complain that he has an invincible repugnance to peace. But we have never yet fairly tried whether he be willing to remain at peace. We do not yet know whether his anomalous constitution do not unite the military ardour of Alexander with the pacific propensities of Augustus.

Our ministers declared, in their answer to the Russian manifesto, that they were willing to make peace on an admissible basis. Now in order to dispel the general

belief that they are unwilling to make peace on any terms, it would have been highly gratifying to the country if they were ingenuously to confess the basis on which they were ready to treat. We should then clearly see whether we ought to impute to them or to Bonaparte the guilt of protracted war. If the conditions of the peace which they proposed, were, according to the wise suggestion of Mr. Fox, reciprocally advantageous to the belligerents, they would probably experience a favourable reception not only in this country but in France. But if they should be contemptuously rejected by the French government, without any other proposals of fair and honourable accommodation being offered in their stead, what man is there with a drop of British blood in his veins who would not cheerfully submit to the continuance of a war, the evils of which were to be ascribed solely to the intractable obstinacy, the unmitigated rancour and the implacable hostility of France? But till the spirit of a pacific disposition in the present ministers is manifested in a manner too clear to be mistaken, we must impute to their folly and their wickedness as much as to the devouring ambition of the French emperor, the privations which we suffer and the evils under which we groan. We have lately heard it asserted that ministers have opened a negociation with France; and we heartily hope that they will conduct it with sincerity; and want neither honesty nor talent to bring it to a happy termination.

It would be difficult for the advocates of the war-faction to shew what advantages can be obtained by the continuance of the war which may not in a greater degree and at a less expense be procured by peace. Is the extension of commerce the object which inflames our present military propensities? Has not the protraction of this murderous conflict caused our ships to be excluded from every port in Europe, so that we can hardly dispose of a bale of goods without first crossing the Atlantic? But our merchants have lately found a mine of wealth in the Brazils. We wish that it may not disappoint their expectations. But we have never yet heard that the presence of the family of Braganza was associated with any extraordinary rapidity of national improvement, with the extension of agriculture and commerce, or with any of those ameliorations in the condition of society which give ardour to enterprise or vigour to exertion? What has this house of Braganza done for Portugal? And is it likely to do more for the Brazils? Is there any people in Europe more begrimed with filth, more paralysed in indolence or more besotted in ignorance than the Portugueze? Were not

these qualities the original product of the court; and are they not likely to be transported with that court from the mother country, to the colonies? Will the court of Portugal display more virtue in America than in Europe. Will the royal line of Braganza which has religiously maintained the inquisition on the Tagus, respect liberty of conscience on the river of the Amazons?

If we make peace with Bonaparte do we think that our internal security will be less than it is during war? For does not that security depend on the courage of Britons? on the spirit of freedom that animate their bosoms? and is it not the love of the constitution that will cause them to oppose a determined resistance to a foreign foe? These are principles of self-defence, which, if our government show a due regard to the rights of the subject, if they study to relieve rather than oppress, will flourish in the tranquillity of peace even more than in the storm of war. Do we imagine that if France makes peace with us to day, it will be only to throw us off our guard and attack us when we are unprepared? But a nation of freemen practised in the use of arms can never be unprepared. Were the mass of the population disciplined in the rudiments of war, the enemy might land fifty thousand men on five different points of the coast without being able to advance twenty miles into the country. Hosts of warriors animated by enthusiasm and prepared to defend their altars and their hearths to the last extremity would meet them at every step of the way. Even in time of peace no large force could well be collected in such secresy as to pass the channel and invade us by surprise. And it will behove us to arrange such a system of defence as will enable us in a short time to collect large masses of force within certain given points, to be prepared against every emergency of treachery or surprise and to oppose the bristly front of battle to the enemy wherever he may land. Not to conclude the present war on equitable terms, because we are afraid of the treacherous machinations of France during peace, is to confess our folly or our imbecility. It is besides to intimate that the government is inimical to the people, and that the people are languishing under the oppression of the government. For while the measures of the government are such as to conciliate the affections of the people, while the government shews more willingness to extend than to abridge the liberty of the subject, while œconomy is practised and no reasonable reform is denied; a wall of adamant will be opposed to every invader in the heart of every native of the empire. But where the paternal solicitude

of the government is not such as to kindle the grateful enthusiasm of the people, where the people are treated more like beasts of burthen than as beings endued with reason, and born for immortality; there, the government, conscious of its imbecility, may well harbour suspicious and tremble with insecurity in peace as well as war. What standing armies can do, where the governments to which they belong are not founded in the affections of the people, has been seen among the nations of the continent. Those armies have vanished like shadows without strength, before the legions of France. Of the confederate troops who fell at Austerlitz, at Jena, or at Friedland, not a man felt that he had a country worth defending, or a constitution, which he ought to shed his blood in order to preserve to his posterity. They stood indeed in their ranks like compact pieces of machinery; but the enthusiasm of liberty never vibrated in their veins. But on the glorious plains of Maida, that public spirit which makes even the name of country a source of noble exertion, that national enthusiasm which is composed of the love of liberty and of a thirst for honourable distinction, pervaded like an electric stream the British ranks; the French retreated from the shock; and the memory of Bonaparte will long be impressed with the result.

The old governments of Europe which France has subverted, were feudal tyrannies, not suited to the habits and the feelings of a more enlightened age. They were foes to improvement, and nothing worse can well be substituted in their stead. Had they been worth defending the people would not, with so little resistance, have permitted their fall, or manifested so little regret after their destruction. The government of England which is erected on a more popular base, has more hold on the generous sentiments of the mind and the disinterested affections of the heart, and it would not be surrendered to the enemy with the same apathy and cowardice. If Bonaparte should ever effect an invasion of England, he would be opposed by a race of men very different from those whom he had to combat in the plains of Moravia or Poland. A free man and a slave are hardly like beings of the same species. Let then the government of this country, as it regards its own security, and wishes to erect an impregnable barrier against every assailant, be more than ordinarily sedulous in guarding against any excess of that power with which it is invested for the common good; let it encourage rather than impede temperate and salutary reformation; rather enlarge than contract that boundary of civil and religious liberty, without which, in the present æra of the world, we can neither be happy and united among ourselves, nor present that invincible barrier which the genius of Freedom alone can raise against an invading foe.

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